READINGS IN ANCIENT HISTORY

Greece and the East

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READINGS IN ANCIENT HISTORY

ILLUSTRATIVE EXTRACTS FROM

THE SOURCES

I. GREECE AND THE EAST

BY

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

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ALLYN AND BACON

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

This book aims to set before students beginning the study of Ancient History a sufficient amount of source material to illustrate the important facts mentioned in every good text-book. There is also a clear intent to give the reader some taste of the notable literary flavor pervading the histories of Greece and Rome. It is a distinct loss of an opportunity to pass from the study (*e.g.*) of the Persian Wars and to gain no first-hand acquaintance with Herodotus; or, again, of the Roman Emperors and to read no typical passages of Tacitus. This compilation has been prepared for constant use along with some standard text-book, and various matters of marked historical importance, as the *Servian Constitution* of Rome, have been deliberately omitted, because most school histories state the fact sufficiently well, and little is added by reproducing the arid statements in Livy. On the other hand, many tales have been included, like the story of *The Ring of Polycrates* or of *Cincinnatus called from the Plow*, which condensed histories may well slight but which afford refreshing illustrations of the ancient life or the ancient viewpoint.

Comparing the compass of this work with the wide extent of available literature, it is evident that a very large number of desirable passages have been perforce omitted. There are practically no quotations from Cicero, because Cicero is a writer many students will earn a passing acquaintance with in the schools; again, certain highly significant passages (*e.g.* Thucydides's version of the "Funeral Oration" by Pericles) are omitted, because they are quoted in so many

school histories. There are no quotations from Æschylus or Sophocles, because those paladins of tragedy were, after all, poets and not historians. The compiler has been forced continually to exercise his best judgment. He is entirely aware how fallible that judgment may have been.

To meet the requirements for a work covering the Old Orient and the Early Middle Ages (to 800 A.D.) sections have been added covering these topics, but no attempt has been made to have them so long as the chapters relating strictly to Greece and Rome. Even for the "classical" history itself, far more material came to hand for some periods than for others. Desirable selections for the First Age of Rome are scanty, while again readings on the First Century of the Empire come in bewildering profusion. As a rule, however, those epochs for which one has the most material are, in turn, the best worth studying, and no apology is made for the lack of proportion in the length of some of the chapters.

This volume has been prepared for immature students: it is therefore stripped of the learned notes, citations, references, etc., which are rightly demanded by the erudite. The notes and introductions have a single end in view, — to make the selections comprehensible to readers with little experience in Ancient History problems. Out of consideration for this audience, also, the pages have not been disfigured by frequent indications of omission, where passages of the ancient writer have been stricken out in the interests of brevity. In every case, however, where, to facilitate condensation, words *not* of the original author have been substituted, they are always inclosed in brackets [ ], to guard against misconception.

In compiling a work of this kind a great number of translations have been put under requisition. In many cases these have been diligently compared with the originals, and often such alterations have been made in the wording as to

render the present author largely responsible for the form here given. This is entirely the case (except with Plutarch) where the translation appears without being ascribed to any particular translator. It has seemed presumptuous to endeavor to improve the incomparable versions of Herodotus by Rawlinson, or of Thucydides by Jowett, but many of the familiar Bohn translations offend by a stilted pedantry which completely destroys their literary value. To avoid frequent repetition, it may be said here that the numerous extracts from Herodotus are always after Rawlinson, and from Plutarch after Dryden (revised by Clough). To the various authors and publishers of copyrighted books from which excerpts are taken, who have generously given permission to copy, all thanks are here extended. Specific acknowledgements are due here to Charles Scribner's Sons for permission to make use of matter in Hastings's "Dictionary of the Bible" (5-volume edition) and in Breasted's "History of Egypt"; to the History Department of the University of Pennsylvania for matter taken from their "Historical Reprints"; to Dr. Horace White for excerpts from his "Appian"; to Professor F. W. Kelsey for extracts from his edition of Mau's "Pompeii"; to Professor G. H. Palmer for his "Hymn of Cleanthes"; and to the friends of the late Professor H. B. Foster for passages from his "Cassius Dio."

The dates given in the running headlines are often highly approximate, especially for the earlier periods of history; and should not be memorized without careful comparison with the text and with various standard authorities.

In the preparation of this work the compiler has received generous assistance from many quarters, but particularly from Professor W. M. West of the University of Minnesota, who, besides writing the Introduction, has at all times given most friendly counsel out of a wide, practical experience, and who has afforded active assistance upon the work both during its inception and its final development. Hearty

thanks are also due to Mr. Richard A. Newhall, formerly Assistant in History in the University of Minnesota, who went over the entire manuscript most faithfully, checking up all important references and otherwise making it useful to historical students.

W. S. D.

The University of Minnesota,
Minneapolis, Minnesota,
May, 1912.

INTRODUCTION

Dr. Davis has placed high school teachers of history under an obligation which they will be quick to recognize. This book takes rank by itself. There are excellent "source books" in Greek and Roman history adapted to their own valuable work. But this is not a source book, in the usual sense. Fitly, it calls itself *Readings*. It unfolds a panorama of ancient life — etched, drawn, painted, caricatured, by contemporaries. No great phase of that life is neglected, and I take this opportunity to testify my special delight in the attractive presentation of two important epochs often slighted, — the Hellenic World after Alexander and the Roman Imperial World. It was a happy adaptation of workman to work that persuaded Dr. Davis to this task. His instinct for dramatic story and striking situation, and his faultless literary sense, have never, I believe, served better use. The boy or girl who once gets hold on the volume is sure to breathe in more of the atmosphere of the ancient world than from any possible study of a conventional text-book. Indeed, the *Readings* will lend needed light and color to any text-book. In my judgment, a high school class in Ancient History should have this book, not merely in the library for occasional reference, but constantly in the hands of each student. If that is arranged, most other "library work" *may*, perhaps, be omitted by a first-year class without serious loss, providing the following year in Modern History is so planned as to put emphasis on library reference. Not all varieties of historical training can be given with equal stress in one year — certainly not in a first

year. This volume makes it possible to do the most desirable things for that year more easily and more effectively than ever before.

Now as to some of those things and how to do them. I hesitate to speak as a dogmatic pedagogue; but this is just the matter on which I am particularly requested to speak in this Introduction. Concrete details depend largely upon the articulation with the regular text-book, and must vary with the text used. I must confine myself to a few general principles.

1. The volume is not designed for "hard" study, to be tested scrupulously by minute questioning: it is meant for *reading*. At the same time, it is planned so that, with a little thought by the teacher, it may be a daily companion to any standard text in Ancient History. Readings should usually be assigned for a group of days ahead (two days to five), to allow for variation in arrangement between this book and the text; and students should then be expected — *and helped* — to go back at the proper times from passages in the text to the appropriate passages in the *Readings*. They should be taught to look for and to utilize Dr. Davis's suggestions at the head of each "number" as to the most essential things to look for in the extract. And almost daily, while the correct habit is forming, the teacher will find opportunity to ask, "What further light on this do you find in the *Readings?*" "Did you get that idea from your text-book or from a 'contemporary' authority?" "Does the passage from Thucydides in the *Readings* support or weaken this statement of your text?" Such practice should be continued and varied until the student instinctively turns from text to *Readings* and back again, supplementing each by the other, in his consideration of each topic.

2. Now and then a suitable passage (not too long) may even be used in the way more peculiar to "source books" proper, for painstaking and exhaustive study, to establish

conclusions in advance of the text, or to disclose evidence for positions there taken. For this purpose, the teacher may need at first to dictate searching questions. For a few typical documents Dr. Davis has supplied such questions; but the selection of documents to be used in this way will necessarily vary with the text-book. Now and then the class may be required to write questions upon a document; and, still better, a student may prepare himself to question the class orally — first, of course, *communicating to the instructor the points he intends to bring out.*

3. When the survey of an important period or topic has been completed (Greek life in the days of Pericles, for instance), it will sometimes be well to spend a day or more in re-reading the *Readings,* with a class exercise to bring out points found there and not previously dwelt upon.

4. The historical introductions by Dr. Davis should, of course, be compared carefully with the corresponding matter in the regular text; and any divergences of opinion will afford convenient occasion for reference to larger standard authorities by an individual or by the class.

5. The student should certainly acquire some discriminating sense as to why one source differs from another in historical value or reliability. He can appreciate easily why, (*e.g.*) Vol. I. § 44 (contemporary statement) is better authority for the facts it recites than is Vol. I. § 51, which has *tradition* or *recollection* merely for the facts it states. And such discrimination is susceptible of considerable development. Moreover, it is quite possible for the student to comprehend that even where a contemporary's judgment is erroneous as to *fact,* it is still often a historical fact *itself* of great significance. In this connection, to all cautions by Dr. Davis in his introductions against taking an opinion as an infallible authority — merely because it is contemporary and old — the teacher will need to add frequent reminder as to the partisan or personal or class bias of many of the

writers quoted. It may be driven slowly into the everyday consciousness of the class that Homeric bards sang to chieftains for largess, and were glad to gratify such auditors by raising a laugh at the expense of the annoying Thersites, who, in real life, may that day have bested the chief in the Assembly; that Aristophanes and Juvenal were ancient "muckrakers," with far less zeal for accurate statement than have their successors who trouble our society in the monthly magazines; that Cicero was a complacent and delightful old "standpatter," and Tacitus a preacher who heightened the virtues of other peoples in order to darken the vices of his own land; that most professed historians were more eager for a good story than for scientific accuracy; and that, during all time, democracy has had its history written chiefly by its enemies — since literature has belonged so largely to the aristocrats.

6. I close with a suggestion, hardly needed, of perhaps the finest use of the volume. A true teacher ought to find in every class *some* students before whom these extracts may be dropped as delectable bait, to lure them on to high enjoyment of Plutarch and the *Odyssey* and Marcus Aurelius in their entirety.

WILLIS MASON WEST.

University of Minnesota,
May, 1912.

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GREECE AND THE EAST

GREECE AND THE EAST

CHAPTER I

ANCIENT EGYPT

The study of ancient history naturally begins with an examination of the monuments and records of Old Egypt. Whether Egypt or Babylonia really presents to us the earlier civilization is difficult to determine, nor is the question one of great importance. Certain it seems that in *both* of these great river valleys something approximating civilized life existed possibly as early as 5000 B.C., although scholars are not agreed as to whether we have any actual remains from such a remote period. It should be remembered that the development of Oriental culture was that of a slowly-growing plant, and centuries of preparation surely intervened between the original settlement of the Nile valley and the production of the first archæological remains that have survived for us.

A large part of the evidence especially for Egyptian life is *pictorial*, — bas-reliefs, tomb pictures, etc., — which cannot well be reproduced in a book like this (see § 4). Again, it should be remembered that the literary style of the earliest folk which committed its thoughts to writing is likely to appear highly grotesque and stilted to moderns. This makes many of the Egyptian inscriptions difficult reading even in good translations. The following extracts will at least give a passing idea of the literary products of the Egyptian priests, who probably had most bookish matters entirely in their hands.

1. A Hymn to the Nile

Papyrus, "Records of the Past" [1] (2d series), vol. III, p. 48

Egypt, as Herodotus the Greek historian says, "is wholly the gift of the Nile." Except for the annual inundation the country

[1] This is a series of books edited by Professor A. H. Sayce and published in London. It should not be confused with the monthly magazine of the same name published in Washington.

would be as hopelessly desert as the lands about it. The Egyptians quite naturally recognized their debt to the wondrous river, the bounty whereof was all the more marvelous because the sources of the stream and the real causes of the inundation were practically unknown to them. This feeling of gratitude is expressed in the very ancient hymn here quoted.

Adoration to the Nile!
Hail to thee, O Nile!
Who manifestest thyself over this land,
Who cometh to give life to Egypt!
Mysterious is thy issuing forth from the darkness,
On this day whereon it is celebrated!
Watering the orchards created by Ra[1]
To cause all the cattle to live
Thou givest the earth to drink, O inexhaustible one!
Loving the fruits of Seb[2]
And the first fruits of Nepera
Thou causest the workshops of Ptah[3] to prosper.

Lord of the fish, during the inundation,
No bird alights on the crops!
Thou createst corn, thou bringest forth the barley,
Assuring perpetuity to the temples.
If thou ceasest thy toil and thy work,
Then all that exists is in anguish.
If the gods suffer in heaven,
Then the faces of men waste away. . . .[4]

If the Nile smiles the earth is joyous,
Every stomach is full of rejoicing,
Every spine is happy,
Every jawbone crushes its food. . . .

[1] The Egyptian sun god.
[2] "Seb" is the Earth.
[3] The master craftsman of the gods.
[4] The gods no less than mankind are imagined as dependent on the Nile

A festal song is raised for thee on the harp,
With the accompaniment of the hand.
The young men and thy children acclaim thee
And prepare their long exercises.
Thou art the august ornament of the earth,
Letting thy bark advance before men,
Lifting up the heart of women in labor,
And loving the multitude of the flocks.

When thou shinest in the royal city,
The rich man is sated with good things,
The poor man even disdains the lotus,[1]
All that is produced is of the choicest,
All the plants exist for thy children.
If thou hast refused to grant nourishment,
The dwelling is silent, devoid of all that is good,
The country falls exhausted.

O inundation of the Nile,
Offerings are made unto thee,
Oxen are immolated to thee,
Great festivals are instituted for thee,
Birds are sacrificed to thee,
Gazelles are taken for thee in the mountain,
Pure flames are prepared for thee. . . .

O Nile, come and prosper!
O thou who makest men to live through his flocks,
Likewise his flocks through his orchards,
Come and prosper, come,
O Nile, come and prosper!

[1] Herodotus (II, 92) tells how the Egyptians eat the flower and root of the lotus.

2. Illustrations of the Views and Ambitions of Egyptian Kings

Adapted from Breasted, "History of Egypt," passim

The kings of Egypt were practically gods in the eyes of their subjects; in theory their power was absolute. In practice they seem to have been much hampered by a powerful priesthood and a self-assertive nobility. The utterances quoted from their inscriptions show that while some kings delighted in conquest, others took quite as much pleasure in promoting the peace and prosperity of their people. The Instructions of Amenemhat I to his son show forth the terrible isolation of the "divine" Pharaoh, and the ingratitude and treason which he had ever to fear was lurking under infinite lip service.

By Amenemhat I (12 dynasty, about 2000 B.C.)

I was one who made the grain to grow, and who loved the god of the harvest. In every valley did the Nile greet me. In my years none had hunger and none had thirst. In peace lived the people, and their talk was of me — because of the [good] deeds which I wrought.

From Amenemhat I. Instructions to his Son

Hearken to that which I tell thee, that thou mayest be king over the earth and ruler over its countries, and thy prosperity may increase. Harden thy heart against thy underlings. The people obey him whom they hold in fear. . . . Take no brother to thy heart, cherish no friend, keep no intimates[1] — there is no end to them. When thou sleepest, still be on thy guard, for a man has no people [to defend him] when the evil day approaches. I gave to the beggar; I sustained the orphan; I was gracious to the humble as well as to the mighty — but he who ate of my bounty turned rebel: he to whom I gave my hand turned and smote me [literally "aroused fear therein"].

[1] The king had evidently suffered from gross ingratitude.

[In a more complacent vein are the following utterances of Thutmose (or Thothmes) III, a mighty warrior; and of Rameses III, who was among the last of the kings to keep up the best traditions of Egyptian royalty.]

From an inscription recording the conquests of Thutmosis III (about 1450 B.C.)

[The high god Amon[1] is assumed to be addressing the king thus:]

I have come, giving thee the mastery over the men of Asia.
Captive hast thou taken the chiefs of the Asiatics of Retenu:
I have made them behold thy glory — arrayed in thy panoply,
When thou hast taken their weapons in the chariot. . . .
I have come giving thee the mastery over the Islanders.
The dwellers afar in the vast sea hear thy thunders;
As an avenger I have made them behold thy glory, —
An avenger rising above his slain victims.

[And in like manner he boasts of conquering many other lands.]

From the Inscription recording the Reign and Deeds of Rameses III (about 1175 B.C.)

[After telling of the restoration of the public peace following a period of confusion.]

I laid taxes on the people every year. Every town was enrolled and paid in its tribute. . . . I made the woman of Egypt to go with uncovered ears,[2] to go whithersoever she would, for no stranger, no wayfarer would molest her. I made the infantry and chariot-force to stay in their homes, . . . they had no fear, for there was no enemy from Cush [Ethiopia]; none from Syria. . . . I sustained the whole land, whether foreigners, common folk, or citizens

[1] Official head of the Egyptian pantheon and the great national deity.

[2] Perhaps the meaning is that she could safely uncover her valuable earrings.

male and female. The man in misfortune I delivered and restored to breath. If he had a powerful oppressor, I delivered him. To each and all I gave security in his town. I dealt with others justly at my tribunal [literally "hall of petition"]. I caused the land that had been wasted to be resettled. The country was well content while I reigned.

3. A Letter from the Egyptian Governor of Palestine announcing a Revolt

Papyrus, "Records of the Past" (2d series), vol. V, p. 72

Before the Hebrews were fairly settled in southern Palestine the country seems to have been for quite a period under Egyptian lordship. The following letter from the governor, announcing the peril in which the Egyptian garrison in the whole region and especially at Jerusalem has been placed by a general revolt of the natives, possesses not a little interest for Biblical students. The approximate date of the letter seems to be about 1375 B.C.

To the King my Lord: Thus says Ebed-tob, thy servant, who prostrates himself at the feet of my Lord the King seven times seven.

The King is aware of the deed that Malchiel and Suardatum have done. They have marshaled the forces of the city of Gezer against the country of my Lord the King: and with these the hosts of the cities of Gath and of Keilah. They have occupied the territory of the city of Rabbah. The King's country has gone over to these [hostile] confederates. And even at this moment the city of Jerusalem . . . belonging to the King is placed in hostility to the locality of the men of the city of Keilah [who have revolted].

May the King hearken to Ebed-tob his servant, and may he dispatch troops, and may he restore his country to his royal dominions. But if no troops arrive the King's country is [surely gone over to the Confederates]. The deed is the deed of Suardatum and Malchiel. . . .

May the King send help to his country!

4. Rameses II and his Army

George Ebers, "Uarda," chap. XXXVIII

So much of our evidence for Egyptian life and thought depends upon the *pictures* with which the walls of their temples, tombs, and palaces were covered that a correct impression of their civilization cannot be given by quoting from their literary remains alone. An able German scholar, gifted with a scientific imagination has — in a novel, "Uarda" — tried with much success to reconstruct the life of the days of Rameses II. His descriptions have the double advantage of vividness and accuracy, and may be accepted as substantially correct.

[The king and his army are represented as being in camp in Northern Syria the night before a great battle with the Hittites.]

The soldiers had not gone to rest as usual. Heavily armed troops, who bore in one hand a shield of half a man's height, and in the other a scimitar, or a short, pointed sword, guarded the camp, where numerous fires burned, round which crowded the resting warriors. . . . The servants of the chariot guard were fully occupied, as the chariots had for the most part been brought over the mountains in detached pieces on the backs of pack-horses and asses, and now had to be put together again, and to have their wheels greased.

On the eastern side of the camp stood a canopy, under which the standards were kept, and there numbers of priests were occupied with their office of blessing the warriors, offering sacrifices, and singing hymns and litanies. . . . From time to time also the deep roar of the king's war lions might be heard. Those beasts followed him into the fight, and now were howling for food, as they had been kept fasting to excite their fury.

In the midst of the camp stood the king's tent, surrounded by foot and chariot guards. The auxiliary troops were encamped in divisions according to their nationality, and be-

tween them the Egyptian legions of heavy-armed soldiers and archers. Here might be seen the black Ethiopian with woolly, matted hair, in which a few feathers were stuck, — the handsome, well-proportioned "son of the desert" from the sandy Arabian shore of the Red Sea, who performed his wild war dance, flourishing his lance with a peculiar wriggle of his hips, — pale Sardinians, with metal helmets and heavy swords, — light-colored Libyans with tattooed arms and ostrich feathers on their heads, and brown, bearded Arabs, worshipers of the stars, inseparable from their horses, and armed, some with lances, and some with arrows.

In the midst of the royal tents was a lightly constructed temple with the statues of the gods of Thebes, and of the king's forefathers; clouds of incense rose in front of it, for the priests were engaged from the eve of the battle until it was over, in prayers and offerings to Amon, the king of the gods, to Necheb, the goddess of victory, and to Menth, the god of war.

The large pavilion in which Rameses and his suite were taking their evening meal was more brilliantly lighted than the others; it was a covered tent, a long square in shape, and all around it were colored lamps. [It was watched by a special picked guard of swordsmen. . . .]

The walls and slanting roof of this quickly built and moveable banqueting hall consisted of a strong, impenetrable carpet stuff, woven at Thebes, and afterward dyed purple at Tanis by the Phœnicians. The cedar wood pillars of the tent were covered with gold, and the ropes which secured the light erection to the tent pegs were twisted of silk, and of thin threads of silver.

Seated round four tables, more than a hundred men were taking the evening meal: at three of them the generals of the army, the chief priests, and councilors sat on light stools; at the fourth, and at some distance from the others,

were the princes of the blood; and the king himself sat apart at a high table on a throne supported by gilt figures of Asiatic prisoners in chains. His table and throne stood in a low dais, covered with panthers' skins; but even without *that*, Rameses would have towered above his companions. His form was powerful, and there was a commanding aspect in his bearded face, and in the high brow, crowned with a golden diadem adorned with the heads of two Uræus snakes, wearing the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt. A broad collar of precious stones covered half his breast, and the lower half was concealed by a scarf or belt, and his bare limbs were adorned with bracelets. . . . Behind the Pharaoh stood a man younger than himself who gave him his wine cup after first touching it with his own lips. This was the king's charioteer and favorite companion.

5. The Residence of a Great Egyptian Nobleman

George Ebers, "Uarda," chap. VIII

In "Uarda" we have the following reconstruction of the residence of a high Egyptian official. There were undoubtedly many such mansions in the thirteenth century B.C.

[The mansion is supposed to be near Thebes, in the days of Rameses II, the most powerful of the Egyptian kings.]

It was evening . . . and the coolness which had succeeded the heat of the summer's day tempted the citizens out into the air in front of their doors or on the roofs and turrets of their houses; or to the tavern tables, where they listened to the tales of the professional story-tellers, while they refreshed themselves with beer, wine, and the sweet juice of fruits. Many simple folk squatted in circular groups on the ground, and joined in the burden of songs which were led by an appointed singer to the sound of a tabor and flute.

To the south of the temple of Amon stood the king's

palace, and near it, in more or less extensive gardens, rose the houses of the great nobles, among which one was distinguished by splendor and size; — that of Paaker the king's "Pioneer" [a high army officer]. . . .

The gate giving entrance to his plot of ground through the surrounding wall, was disproportionately, almost ostentatiously, high and decorated with various paintings. On the right hand and on the left two cedar trunks rose as masts to carry standards; he had had them felled for the purpose on Lebanon, and forwarded by ship to Pelusium on the northeast coast of Egypt. Thence they were conveyed by the Nile to Thebes.

On passing through the gate one entered a wide, paved courtyard at the sides of which walks extended, closed in at the back, and with roofs supported on slender painted wooden columns. Here stood the pioneer's horses and chariots, here dwelt his slaves, and here the necessary store of produce for the month's requirements was kept.

In the further wall of this store court was a very high doorway, that led into a large garden with rows of well-tended trees and trellised vines, clumps of shrubs, flowers, and beds of vegetables. Palms, sycamores, and acacia trees, figs, pomegranates, and jasmine throve here particularly well . . . and in the large tank in the midst there was never any lack of water for the beds and the tree roots, as it was always supplied by two canals, into which wheels turned by oxen poured water, night and day, from the Nile stream.

On the right side of this plot rose the one-storied dwelling house, its length stretching into distant perspective, as it consisted of a single row of living and bed rooms. Almost every room had its own door that opened into a veranda supported by colored wooden columns, and which extended the whole length of the garden side of the house. [Behind this joined a row of storerooms.]

In a chamber of strong masonry lay safely locked up the vast riches accumulated by Paaker's father and by himself, in gold and silver rings, vessels and figures of beasts. Nor was there a lack of bars of copper and of precious stones, particularly of lapis lazuli and malachite.

In the midst of the garden stood a handsomely decorated kiosk,[1] and a chapel with images of the gods; in the background stood the statues of Paaker's ancestors in the form of Osiris[2] wrapped in mummy clothes. The faces, which were likenesses, alone distinguished these statues from each other.

The left side of the storeyard was veiled in gloom, yet the moonlight revealed numerous dark figures clothed only in aprons, slaves of Paaker, who squatted in groups of five or six, or lay near one another on thin mats of palm bast, their hard beds.

Near the gate a few lamps lighted up a group of dusky men, the officers of Paaker's household, who wore short shirt-shaped white garments, and who sat on a carpet round a table hardly two feet high. They were eating their evening meal, consisting of a roasted antelope and large flat cakes of bread. Slaves waited on them and filled their earthern cups with yellow beer; while the steward cut up the great roast on the table.

6. The City of Tanis in the Delta of the Nile

Papyrus, "Records of the Past" (1st series), vol. VI, pp. 13-16

The city of Tanis, an important place in the Nile delta, was built by Rameses II (reigned about 1292 to 1225 B.C.), and is thus described by a contemporary Egyptian in the so-called "Letter of Pambesa." It is worth noticing what a traveler in the thirteenth century B.C. thought proper to record as of interest

[1] A summerhouse peculiar to the Orient.

[2] Upon being beatified in the next world, departed worthies were supposed to be identified with the god Osiris.

to his correspondents. At the time he wrote, Egypt was in the flood time of its prosperity, and possibly never before or after did life "pass in plenty and abundance" in the land, more than in the days of Rameses II.

So I arrived at the city of "Rameses-Meriamen," and found it admirable: for nothing on the Theban [southern] land and soil can compare with it. Here is the seat of the court. The place is pleasant to dwell in, its fields are full of good things; and life here passes in plenty and abundance. The canals are rich in fish; the lakes swarm with birds; the meadows are green with vegetables; there is no end to the lentils; melons with a taste like honey grow in the irrigated gardens. The barns are full of wheat and durra [a grain], and reach as high as heaven. Onions and grapes grow in the inclosures; and the apple tree blooms among them. The vine, the almond tree, and the fig tree are found in the orchards. The redfish is common in the lotus canal; the Bori-fish in the ponds; many varieties of the same together with carp and pike (?) in the canal of Pu-harotha. . . . The city canal Pshenhor produces salt, the lake region of Pahir produces natron. Sea-going ships enter the harbor. Plenty and abundance are perpetual.

7. An Egyptian Bazaar

Abridged from Maspero, "Ancient Egypt and Assyria," p. 29 ff.

In much the same spirit as Ebers, a famous French Egyptologist has drawn us this picture of the commerce and surroundings of an Egyptian bazaar, in the days of Rameses II.

[In Thebes after threading one's way through dark and very narrow streets one would at last] emerge into the full sunshine of a noisy little square where a market is being held. [Here are all kinds of cattle on sale, and] peasants, fishermen, and small retail dealers squat several deep in front of the houses, displaying before them in great rush

baskets, or on low tables, loaves of pastry, fruit, vegetables, fish, meat, raw or cooked, jewels, perfumes, stuffs, all the necessities and all the superfluities of Egyptian life.

The customers stroll past and examine leisurely the quality of the commodities offered for sale; each carries something of his own manufacture in his hand — a new tool, some shoes, a mat, or a small box filled with rings of copper, silver, or even of gold of the weight of an *outnou* (nearly 3 ounces) which he proposes to barter for the object he requires. Two customers stop at the same moment before a peasant who exhibits onions and wheat in a basket. Instead of money one holds two necklets of glass or of many colored earthenware, the second a round fan with a wooden handle and one of those triangular ventilators which cooks use to quicken the fire. [Each praises his offering and asks a certain number of onions for it: the peasant at first is obdurate.] The one asks too much, the other asks too little; from concession to concession they finally come to terms, and settle the number of onions or the weight of corn which the necklet or fan may be worth.

[Although metal rings and bars are preferred, a great deal of the trade is simply by barter; and much time and wind are consumed in making a trade. The unit of weight for metals is the *outnou*, and often] the rings or twisted wires which represent the *outnou* and its multiples do not contain the reputed quality of gold or silver, and are too light. They are weighed at every fresh market. The parties interested take advantage of the excuse for quarreling loudly, declaiming that the scales are false, that the weight has been badly taken, etc.

Two or three commercial streets or bazaars open from the other side of the square, and the crowd hastens towards them when it leaves the market.

Nearly their whole length is filled with stalls and shops, in which not only Egypt, but the majority of oriental nations,

display their most varied productions. ' Beautifully ornamented stuffs from Syria, Phœnician or Hittite jewelry, scented woods and gems from Pnut and Arabia, lapis and embroideries from Babylon; coral, gold, iron, tin, and amber from far-distant countries beyond the seas are found scattered pell-mell amongst the native fine linen, jewels, glasswork, and furniture. [The shops are small, square rooms, open in front; and usually behind are some apprentices busy manufacturing the wares which their master sells, unless he is a dealer in foreign products.]

There are confectioners, and restaurants where ready cooked meats can be bought either to be taken away, or eaten on the premises. Barbers go roving about in the bazaars; and their customers squat down on the ground wherever they are to have their heads as well as their beards shaved.

There are also beer houses near by. The reception room is furnished with mats, stools, and armchairs. Here the customers drink beer, wine, and palm brandy. No sooner has a stranger seated himself than a maid servant comes up to him offering liquor and urging, "Drink with rapture! Listen to the conversation of thy comrades and enjoy thyself!" There is a great deal of hard drinking, but public opinion condemns drunkenness, and moralists urge "Do not forget thyself in the breweries," and again that, "Beer destroys the soul."

8. The Life of the Poor in Old Egypt

Abridged from Maspero, "Ancient Egypt and Assyria," p. 6

What life was to the millions of the laboring peasants who built the pyramids, and later the great palaces and temples of Thebes, and cultivated the fertile corn lands of Egypt, is illustrated thus by M. Maspero. The glories of the old Egyptian monarchy were paid for by ceaseless toil, infinite discomfort, and downright grinding misery for the masses.

Although polygamy is legally allowable, men of the lower classes seldom have more than one wife. The family is very united, but the husband rarely stays at home during the day: his work calls him abroad at sunrise. He then goes out barefooted, bareheaded, or merely wearing a skull-cap. His only dress is a pair of cotton drawers that barely fall below his hips. He carries his food with him, two cakes baked in the ashes, one or two onions, sometimes a little oil, sometimes a morsel of dried fish. Towards noon the work stops for an hour or two, which is used entirely for eating and sleeping; it ceases entirely at sunset. All the trades have their disadvantages, thus the poet says,

"The stone mason seeks his work in every kind of hard stone.

When he has completed his orders, and when his hands are tired, does he rest?

[Not so]: he must be in the workyard at dawn: even if his knees and spine break with his toil."

The wages so laboriously earned are extremely scanty, and usually paid in kind — a little corn and oil, on festival days some wine or beer. The overseers bear a stick as their insignia, and use it freely.

"*Man has a back,*" says the proverb, "*and only obeys when he is beaten!*"

It was the stick that built the Pyramids, dug the canals, won victories for the conquering Pharaoh, and made Egypt a great manufacturing nation. It has so entered into the daily life of the people that it is looked upon as an inevitable evil.

9. Extracts from the Precepts of Ptah-Hotep

Inscription, "Records of the Past" (2d series), vol. III, p. 17 ff.

Ptah-Hotep was a high civil magistrate and nobleman under a Pharaoh of the Fifth dynasty (probably about 2700 B.C.). The whole of his "Precepts" — of which only a small portion is here

quoted — falls into 44 short chapters, and has the general style, concise, shrewd, practical, of the Hebrew "Book of Proverbs." The "Precepts" has been called "the oldest book in the world" — and there are surely very few which antedate it. Human nature five thousand years ago seems to have been distinctly like that of to-day, and many of Ptah-Hotep's pithy admonitions are not without a twentieth century application.

[Ptah-Hotep] says unto his son, Be not arrogant because of what thou knowest: deal with the ignorant as with the learned; for the barriers of art are not closed, and no artist is in possession of the perfection to which he should aspire. But good words are harder to find than the emerald.

If thou findest a disputant while he is hot, and he is the superior to thee in ability, lower the hands, bend the back, do not get into a passion with him. As he will not let thee destroy his words, it is utterly wrong to interrupt him. That proclaims that thou art incapable of keeping thyself calm when thou art contradicted.

If thou hast, as leader, to decide on the conduct of a great number of men, seek the most perfect manner of doing so, that thy own conduct be blameless. Justice is great, invariable and sure: it has not been disturbed since the age of Osiris [the golden age].

If thou art a farmer, gather the crops (?) in the field which the great God hath given thee, fill not thy mouth in the house of thy neighbors.

Be active in the time of thy existence, doing more than is commanded. Do not spoil the time of thy activity; he is a blameworthy man who makes a bad use of his moments. Lose not the daily opportunity to increase thy household substance. Activity produces riches, but riches endure not when activity slackens.

If thou art a wise man, bring up a son who shall be pleasing to God. . . .

Be not of an irritable temper as regards that which

happens beside thee. Grumble (?) not over thine own affairs. Be not of an irritable temper in regard to thy neighbors. Better is a compliment to that which displeases, than rudeness.

If thou art wise, look after thy house. Love thy wife without alloy. Fill her stomach, clothe her back, these are the cares to bestow upon her. Caress her, fulfill her desires during the time of her existence — it is a kindness which does honor to its possessor. . . . Tact will influence her better than violence.

If thou art a wise man sitting in the council of thy lord, direct thy thoughts toward that which is wise. Be silent rather than scatter thy words. When thou speakest, know that which can be brought against thee. To speak in the council is an art, and speech is criticised more than any other labor. It is contradiction which puts it to the proof.

If thou hast become great after having been lowly, harden not thy heart because of thy elevation. Thou art become only the steward of the good things of God. Put not behind thee the neighbor who is like unto thee: be unto him as a companion.

Bend thy back before a superior. [If] thou art attached to the palace of the king, thy house is established in its fortune, and thy profits are as is fitting.

When a son receives the instruction of his father, there is no error in all his plans. Train thy son to be a teachable man whose wisdom is agreeable to the great. To-morrow knowledge will support him, while the ignorant will be destroyed.

A son who attends [to his father] is like a follower of [the god] Horus. He is happy after having attended. He becomes great; he arrives at dignity; he gives the same [wise] lesson to his children.

Let thy thoughts be abundant, but let thy mouth be under restraint; [then] thou shalt argue with the mighty.

10. The Style of Beka — The Ethics of an Egyptian Nobleman

"Records of the Past" (1st series), vol. X, p. 5

A nation and a religion can be judged fairly accurately by the ethics enjoined for personal conduct. What were the ideals in life of an Egyptian nobleman are well stated on this funeral monument of Beka. He seems to have been "The Great Steward of the Public Treasury" — an office very similar to that of the Hebrew Joseph — and claims (or his heirs claim for him) to have led a completely virtuous life. Making due allowances for the complacent tone of the inscription, the ideals to which the Beka announces he has conformed give the impression that at its best the Egyptian conception of practical righteousness was high indeed.

A royal gift of offerings, to the person of the Steward of the Public Granary, Beka the "justified."[1]

He says,

I myself was just and true, without malice, having put God in my heart, and having been quick to discern his will.

I have reached the city of those who are in eternity. Good have I wrought upon earth: prejudice I have not harbored; wickedness I have not done: I have not condoned any iniquity: I have rejoiced to speak the truth.

I have perceived the advantage of doing thus righteously upon the earth from my infancy even unto the tomb. My sure defense shall be to speak the truth in the day when I reach the divine judges [the forty-two assessors of Osiris, the god of the hereafter], discoverers of all actions, the chastisers of all sin.

Pure is my soul. While living I bore no malice.

There are no errors to be laid to my door, no sins of mine are to be laid before the judges. I come out of this trial [vindicated] with the help of truth: and behold I am in the

[1] *I.e.* he is among the blessed dead.

place of the just. [And then the Steward is made to boast of his various virtues while on earth, *e.g.*:]

I have not made myself a tyrant over the lowly.

I have done no harm to men who honored the gods.

I was in favor with the King, and beloved by great ones around him.

The men of the future will be charmed by my remarkable merits.

My sincerity and goodness were in the heart of my father and mother: my affection was centered (?) upon them.

Though a great man, yet have I acted as if I had been a little one.[1]

My mouth has always been opened to utter true things, not to ferment quarrels.

I have repeated what I have heard, just as it was told me.

[1] *I.e.* I have acted humbly.

CHAPTER II

BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA

On the whole, the literature of the ancient Babylonians and their Assyrian neighbors is more intelligible to readers of to-day than that of Egypt. There is less repetition of stilted phrases perpetuated by the priesthood; again, Bible students find a familiar echo in many of the Babylonian writings, owing to the kinship of their Semitic authors to the Hebrews. Taken as a race the dwellers in the Tigro-Euphrates valley were mightier warriors than their contemporaries upon the Nile, and had more interest and pride in military matters. It must be remembered, however, that down to the rise of the Assyrian monarchy no single ruler controlled the whole of the valley of the Twin Rivers; and great royal enterprises, as *e.g.* the Pyramids, were impossible, although some of the brick temple-towers in Babylonia were of very notable proportions.

In the first part of this chapter are three quotations from the annals of the Babylonian-Assyrians; in the second part are a number of word pictures, drawn from various sources, illustrating the life and institutions of the people, usually taken from the later period of their history when their civilization was at its highest.

11. Part of Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I, King of Assyria

Inscription, "Records of the Past" (2d series), vol. I, p. 92 ff.

Tiglath-Pileser I (about 1120 B.C.) was the first king of Assyria who made really extensive conquests. This inscription recording his victories was found on four large octagonal cylinders of clay, buried under the foundations of the four corners of the great temple at Assur, the oldest of the Assyrian capital.

In this inscription we find the regular earmarks of an Assyrian royal chronicle: constant invocations of the gods, endless self-praise, and continual glorying in acts of fiendish cruelty. Assyria was a vast success as a purely military monarchy; her kings were the bold leaders of a brave and battle-loving people, but they had no genius for organizing peaceful government. They were content to force a defeated nation to pay tribute and submit to general spoliation; yet left to the natives their kings, laws, etc. The result was ceaseless revolts whenever the Assyrian terror abated, followed by ruthless reconquests often repeated many times.

Assur the great lord, director of the hosts of the gods, the giver of the scepter and the crown, the stablisher of the kingdom; *Bel* the Lord, king of all the spirits of the earth, the father of the gods, the lord of the world, [and all ye other] great gods, guiders of heaven and earth, whose onset is opposition and combat, who have magnified the kingdom of Tiglath-Pileser, the prince, the chosen of the desire of your hearts, the exalted shepherd . . . with a crown supreme, you have clothed him: to rule over the land of Bel mightily you have established him. . . .

Tiglath-Pileser the powerful king, the king of hosts who has no rival, the king of the four zones, the king of all the kinglets, the lord of lords, the shepherd prince, the king of kings, the exalted prophet, to whom by proclamation of Samas [the Sun-God] the illustrious scepter has been given as a gift . . . the illustrious prince whose glory has overwhelmed all regions, the mighty destroyer, who like the rush of a flood is made strong against the hostile land, *he* has destroyed the foemen of Assur [*i.e.* Assyria].

Countries, mountains, fortresses and kinglets, the enemies of Assur I have conquered and their territories I have made to submit. With sixty kings I have contended furiously, and power and rivalry over them I displayed. A rival in the combat, a confronter in the battle, I have not. To the land of Assyria I have added land, to its men I have added

men: the boundary of my own land I have enlarged, and all their lands I have conquered.

At the beginning of my reign 20,000 men of the Muskaya[1] and their five kings to their strength trusted and came down: the land of Kummukh [along the upper Euphrates] they seized.

Trusting in Assur my lord I assembled my chariots and armies. There upon I delayed not. The mountains of Kasiyara, a difficult region, I crossed. With their 20,000 fighting men, and their five kings in the land of Kummukh I contended. A destruction of them I made. The bodies of their warriors in destructive battle like the Inundator [the god Rimmon] I overthrew. Their corpses I spread over the valleys and the high places of the mountains. *Their heads I cut off: at the sides of their cities I heaped them like mounds.* Their spoil, their property, their goods, to a countless number I brought forth. Six thousand men, the relics of their armies, which before my weapons had fled, and took my feet.[2] I laid hold upon them and counted them among the men of my own country.

[After telling at great length about his numerous conquests, rebels crushed, cities taken, kings reduced and general slaughter of the enemy, Tiglath-Pileser boasts of his feats as a royal hunter: a matter wherein an Assyrian king would take almost as much pride as in his conquests.]

Under the protection of [the god] Uras, who loves me, from young wild bulls, powerful and large in the deserts, with my mighty bow, a lasso of iron and my pointed spear, their lives I ended. Their hides and their horns to my city of Assur I brought.

Ten powerful male elephants . . . I slew. Four elephants alive I captured. Their hides and their teeth along with the live elephants I brought to my city of Assur.

[1] A people adjacent to Assyria. [2] Embraced them, asking for mercy.

One hundred twenty lions, with my stout heart in the conflict of my heroism on my feet I slew, and 800 lions in my chariot with javelins (?) I slaughtered.

12. How Sennacherib waged War on Hezekiah, King of Judah

Inscription, "Records of the Past" (2d series), vol. VI, p. 90

In 701 B.C. Sennacherib, one of the most ruthless and aggressive of all the kings of Assyria (reigned 705 to 681 B.C.), attacked Hezekiah, king of Judah. (Compare in Bible, II Kings, chap. XVIII.) The treatment Hezekiah received was very merciful compared with the fate of most of Sennacherib's enemies, and shows that he was able to make a very stout resistance. The destruction of the Assyrian host by some strange pestilence (II Kings, chap. XIX) seems to have occurred during a later attack, directed especially against Egypt. Naturally Sennacherib in his inscriptions says nothing of such a disaster.

The treatment Sennacherib boasts to have inflicted on the Elamites shows what Assyrian kings considered redounded to their highest glory.

[From the great inscription of Sennacherib: reciting the numerous kings whom he had vanquished or made tributary: he says,]

Hezekiah of Judah, who had not submitted to my yoke, I besieged 46 of his strong cities, castles and small cities: . . . by casting down their walls, and advancing the war engines, by an assault of the light-armed soldiers, by breaches, by battering and by axes (?) I took them. 200,150 people, young and old, male and female, I brought out from them; with horses, mules, asses, camels, oxen, and sheep without number. I counted them as spoil.

Hezekiah himself I shut up like a caged bird in Jerusalem, his royal city: I fortified the walls against him, and whosoever came out of the gates I turned back. After I had plundered his cities, I divided them from his land and

gave them to Mitinti, king of Ashdod, to Padi, king of Ekron, and to Tsil-Bal, king of Gaza, and thus I diminished his territory. To the former year's tribute, I added the tribute of [subject] alliance to my lordship and laid that upon him.

Hezekiah himself was overwhelmed with the fear of the brightness of my lordship. The Arabians and his other faithful warriors, whom as a defense for Jerusalem his royal city, he had introduced, fell into fear. 30 talents of gold and 800 talents of silver, precious stones . . . large lapis lazuli, couches of ivory, thrones of ivory, ivory, valuable wood of every kind, — a heavy treasure, and his daughters, his harem women, — the young men and young women [of his household] I caused to be brought after me to Nineveh, the city of my lordship. And he sent me ambassadors to give tribute and to pay homage.

[In dealing with the conquered king of Elam and his men, Sennacherib boasts thus of his ruthlessness :]

Their necks I cut off like lambs, their precious lives I cut through like a knot. . . . The chargers of my chariot swam in the masses of blood as in a river, . . . blood and filth ran down its wheel. With the corpses of their warriors as with herbs I filled the field. I mutilated my captives horribly. I cut off their hands. Their bracelets of gold and silver which were on their arms I plucked off. With sharp swords I cut off their noses.

13. An Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar

Inscription, "Records of the Past" (2d series), vol. III, p. 104 ff.

Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon (reigned about 604 to 561 B.C.) was the virtual creator of Babylon as a surpassingly great city. Earlier, although a place of much importance, it had been overshadowed by Nineveh; but now it held the position of the leading city of the Orient, and retained its dignity down to the rise of

Alexandria, after which it rapidly decayed. Nebuchadnezzar boasts of his glory and mighty deeds in a sufficiently vainglorious inscription; but there is some reason for believing that he was less bloodthirsty and war-loving than the Assyrian kings to whose power he, in a certain sense, succeeded.

Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, the prince exalted, the favorite of Marduk, the pontiff supreme; the beloved of Nabu, the serene, the possessor of wisdom, who the way of their godhead regardeth, who feareth their lordship, the servant unwearied, . . . the wise, the prayerful, the maintainer of Esagilla and Ezida,[1] the chiefest son of Nabupalassar, king of Babylon, am I.

[The king goes on to state how from his youth he worshiped Marduk, the guardian god of Babylon, and devoted himself to his service.]

The prince Marduk, the leader glorious, the open-eyed [chieftain?] of the gods, heard my supplication, and received my prayers. Yea, he made gracious his supreme lordship, the fear of his godhead he implanted in my heart. . . . I worshiped his lordship. In his high trust, to far-off lands, to distant hills, from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea, by immense journeys, through blocked ways, a place where the path is broken, where feet go not, a road of hardships, a journey of straits, I pursued, and the unyielding I reduced, and I fettered the rebels. The land I ordered aright, and the people I made to thrive. Bad and good among the people I removed.

Silver, gold, the glitter of precious stones, copper, valuable (?) wood, cedar, whatsoever thing is precious, in a large abundance, the produce of mountains, the fullness of seas, a rich present, a splendid gift to my city of Babylon into [Marduk's] presence I brought.

The cell[2] of the lord of the gods, Marduk, I made to

[1] Probably notable temples are here mentioned.

[2] A kind of "Holy of Holies."

glisten like suns, even the wall thereof. With gold, and precious stones and alabaster, the habitations of the house [of the god] I overlaid.

[The king goes on to tell at length how he built or beautified temples to all the great gods.]

Imgur-bel and Nimitti-bel the great ramparts of Babylon, Nabupolassar, king of Babylon, the father that begat me, had made but had not finished the work of them. The moat he had dug, and the two strong walls with bitumen and burnt brick had constructed along its bank: the dikes . . . he had made and a fence of burnt brick on the other side of the Euphrates: but he had not finished the rest . . . As for me, his eldest son, the beloved of his heart, I finished these great ramparts of Babylon. Beside the scarp of its moat the two strong walls with bitumen and burnt brick I built, and with the wall which my father had constructed I joined them, and the city, for cover, I carried them round. . . .

Through the raising [of the walls] the portals on both sides of the gates had become low. These portals I pulled down, and over against the water,[1] their foundation with bitumen and burnt brick I firmly laid: and with burnt brick and gleaming . . . stone, whereof bulls and dreadful serpents were made . . . cunningly I constructed. Strong cedar beams for the roofing of them I laid on. Doors of cedar with plating of bronze, lintels and hinges, and copperwork, in its gates I set up. Strong bulls of copper, and dreadful serpents standing upright, on their thresholds I erected. Those portals [also] with carven work for the gazings of the multitude of the people I caused to be filled.

[The king now speaks of the splendid palace he built in Babylon for his residence.]

[1] Probably the moat by the walls is referred to.

I reared it high as the wooded hills. Stout cedars for the roofing of it I laid on. Doors of cedar with a plating of bronze, sills and hinges of copperwork, in its gates I set up. Silver, gold, precious stones, everything that is prized, or is magnificent; substance, wealth, the ornaments of majesty, I heaped up within it. Strength, splendor, and [my] royal treasure, I hoarded within it.

[The inscription concludes with an invocation to Marduk.]

At thy behest, O most merciful Marduk, may the house that I have made [in Babylon] endure: and with the fullness of it may I be satisfied, and within it may hoar age reach me! May I be satisfied with offspring! Of the kings of the world, and of all men, within this house may I receive their heavy tribute! . . . My posterity within it, forevermore may they rule over the Black-heads.[1]

14. A Denunciation of Nineveh

The Bible, Book of Nahum, chap. III, vs. 1–19

Nahum, the Hebrew Prophet, seems to have uttered this denunciation of Assyria and her great capital just before the empire and city, which had terrorized the world so long, were about to fall before the allied Medes and Babylonians in 606 B.C. In his impassioned utterance there is given heart-felt expression to that spirit of unrelenting hate, which the long-drawn career of oppression and cruelty on the part of Assyria had engendered. Nahum was not speaking for Judah only, but for every adjacent land, when he gloried over the calamity of "the bloody city." Considering the length of time it lasted, probably no great monarchy ever wrought so much harm and so little good as Assyria. Its luxuries and refinements were all borrowed from conquered lands; its insatiable love of conquest and slaughter was its own.

Woe to the bloody city!
Full of lies is it, and of plunder!

[1] *I.e.* the people of Babylonia.

Limit is not to the spoil!

[Hear ye] the noise of the whip, the noise of the rattling of the wheels.

The horses come prancing: the chariots come bounding [to the onset.]

The horseman lifteth up his flashing sword and his glittering spear. There is a heap of slain, and numberless corpses — corpses without end! Men stumble over the corpses.

Because of the manifold iniquities of [Assyria] the wanton: the mistress of witchcrafts: she who hath sold nations by her vileness, and peoples through her black art:

Behold I am against thee, saith Jehovah of Hosts.

[Men shall say] "*Nineveh is laid waste! Who shall bewail her? Whence shall I seek comforters for thee?*"

Art thou [oh! Nineveh] better than populous No-Ammon [Egyptian Thebes] which lay in the midst of her rivers . . . whose wall was from the sea . . . [and] Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength? . . .

Yet *she* was carried away into captivity: her young children also were dashed in pieces at the top of the streets, and they cast lots for her honorable men: and all her great men were bound in chains.

So, too, thou also shalt become drunken, and overcome. Thou shalt seek for a refuge from thy enemy.

All thy strongholds shall be like fig trees with the first ripe fruit. If they be shaken they shall even fall into the mouth of the eater.

Lo! thy folk are like women: wide open stands thy gate to thine enemies: the fire devoureth thy bulwarks.

[Go then, Assyrians, and] draw your waters for the siege: fortify your fortresses: go into the clay pits and tread the clay: take up the brick molds [to repair the walls!]

[Nevertheless] the fire shall devour thee: the sword shall cut thee off: it shall eat thy city up like a canker-worm. . . .

Thy shepherds slumber, O King of Assyria!

Thy nobles shall dwell in the dust!

Thy peoples are scattered upon the mountain, and there is none to assemble them!

Healing comes not to thy bruise.

Thy wound is grievous.

All that hear the news of thy fate clap their hands over thee: for *whom* hath not thy wickedness afflicted continually.

15. (*A.*) Letter of an Assyrian Physician reporting upon a Patient

Inscription, "Records of the Past" (2d series), vol. II, p. 180

The following is addressed to an Assyrian king (date uncertain) by a physician. The patient reported upon is possibly a prince and a relation of the king. The tablet, which was found in the so-called "Record Office" in the palace at Nineveh, gives an example of the flowery style of address used in Assyrian letters, also of the practical common sense that seems to have characterized the medical science of the day.

To the King my lord, thy servant Arad-Nanā. May there be peace for ever and ever to the king my lord. May the god Ninep, and the goddess Gula give soundness of heart and soundness of mind, and soundness of flesh to the king my lord. Peace forever.

To reduce the general inflammation of his forehead I tied a bandage upon it. His face is swollen. Yesterday as formerly I opened the wound which had been received in the midst of it. As for the bandage which was over the swelling, matter was upon the bandage the size of the tip of the little finger. Thy gods, if they can restore unto him the whole flesh of his body, cause thou to invoke, and his mouth will cry:

"Peace forever! May the heart of the king my lord be good!" He will live seven or eight days.[1]

(*B.*) Report of an Official to the King of Assyria on the Disappearance of Some Gold

[From the "Record Office" at Nineveh. Name of King unknown and date missing.] "Records of the Past" (2d series), vol. II, p. 184

To the king my lord, thy servant Arad-Nabu. May there be peace to the king my lord: may the gods Assur, Samas, [Bel and the rest] . . . lovers of thy rule, let the king my lord live for a hundred years. May they satisfy the king my lord with old age and offspring.

The gold which in the month Tisi, the *ittu*,[2] the prefect of the palace, and I with them, missed — 2 talents of standard gold and 6 talents of gold not standard — (this gold) the hands of the chief of the metal workers (?) placed in the house. He sealed it up; and the gold for the image of the kings, and for the image of the king's mother he gave not. Let the king my lord give command to the *ittu* and the prefect of the palace that they may discover the gold. The beginning of the month is good [to begin the work?] Let them give it to the men. Let them do the work.

16. Babylonish Beliefs in Omens by Eclipses

Inscription, Jastrow's Translation (altered) in Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, vol. V, p. 558

The Babylonians had a rather remarkable knowledge of astronomy, but they put it to very unscientific uses; *e.g.* the tablet here quoted shows how carefully they observed eclipses in order to be able to divine the future. To the Babylonians we owe the pseudo-science of astrology; a superstition of course by no means dead to-day.

[1] The case is evidently hopeless. The only chance, thinks the physician, is an appeal by the king to the gods.

[2] Some government functionary whose duties are not quite clear.

If on the 1st day of the month Tishri the sun is darkened, war will rage betwixt the kings.

If on the 9th day, Adad [the storm god] will raise his cry [*i.e.* there will be a great storm.]

If on the 16th day, there will be plenty of food in the land, and the canals will be full of water.

If on the 18th day, there will be peace for the king.

If on the 20th day, the country will be diminished.

If on the 21st day, sheer ruin is forewarned for the [whole ?] country.

If on the 29th day, in that same year the king will perish, and calamity overtake the land.

If [during the whole month] the sun is darkened, the gods will smite the whole country with ruin.

17. How Archæologists get One of our Oldest Dates

Inscription, "Records of the Past" (2d series), vol. V, p. 173

The following quotation from an inscription by Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon before the Persian Conquest (538 B.C.), is of great importance. Assuming the Babylonian priests kept careful chronological records in their temples (and there is ground to believe that they did), we here have evidence fixing the date of the ancient king Naram-Sin, and indicating that his famous father, Sargon the First, was at the height of his power shortly after 3800 B.C. Surely very respectable antiquity![1]

[Speaking of an ancient temple to Samas the sun god, which the king was repairing,]

The wall of this temple had fallen in, and I threw down the temple and sought for its ancient foundation stone. 18 cubits deep I excavated the ground [and found it]. The foundation cylinder of Naram-Sin, son of Sargon, which *for 3200 years none of the kings who went before me*

[1] Recent investigators assert that this date is possibly several hundred years too early. Even then, Sargon I reigned near the year 3000 B.C.

had seen, Samas, the great lord of Bit-Uri, the temple which his heart loves, showed unto me. [Then] with silver, gold, precious stones, the products of the forest, spices and cedar, with joy and gladness . . . [I restored the temple] I caused 5000 strong cedars to be brought for its roof. Lofty doors of cedar, posts and hinges, I hung in its gates.

18. An Assyrian City

Maspero, "Ancient Egypt and Assyria," p. 198 ff. (abridged)

As in the case of Egypt, as much of our knowledge of Assyria comes from the *pictures* and sculptures left us, as from the written records; with the aid of the great bas-reliefs discovered by such archæologists as Layard and Botta, and by a skillful piecing together of other evidence, M. Maspero has reconstructed this description of Dur-Sargina, a city founded near Nineveh, by Sargon (II) the Great (reigned about 722 to 705 B.C.).

There are eight gates, two on each side. They open between two towers which leave only a space for the entrance itself. Each of them is dedicated to one of the gods of the city and is named after it. [At the entrance ways] two gigantic [stone] bulls with human heads stand at the entrance of the passage, the face and chest turned towards the outside: the body placed against the inner wall. They seem waiting for an enemy, and are accompanied by two winged genii half concealed behind them. The arch which separates them, and which is supported by their miters, is decorated by a band of enameled bricks, upon which more genii facing each other in pairs are holding fir cones: a many colored rosette is in the center.

The transport and placement of these stone monsters proved no light task. The blocks were quarried in the mountains of Kurdistan, and were then brought down to the banks of the Zab.[1] Here they were roughly hewn

[1] A river near Dur-Sargina and Nineveh.

into shape so as to lighten the weight, then placed on sledges, drawn by squadrons of foreign prisoners who afterward with cords and levers hoisted them upon their stands where the sculptors finished them. They are now the mystic guardians of the city, which ward off not only the attacks of men, but the invasion of evil spirits and pernicious maladies. Every day the old men and idlers assemble at their feet. The judge of the district sometimes holds a sitting and gives judgment there. The merchants drive their bargains and discuss their business, whilst the politicians exchange the last news from abroad [the revolt of Egypt, or how the barbarous Cimmerians have killed the king of Lydia.]

[In the city] the streets which start from the gates [are carefully paved and have sidewalks.] The houses that border on them are usually one storied. The door is high and narrow. It seems to be concealed in one corner of the façade. Scarcely a window breaks the unity of the wall, and the terraced roofs are surmounted by conical domes, or half cupolas which open inwards.

Strangers lodge in vast inns situated near the ramparts. There is no outward distinction between them and the private houses. The traveler enters and finds himself in a large rectangular court: in the center is a well shaded by a sycamore tree. All around it are stories of small rooms, one above the other, in which the guests spend the night, and some large ones which are used for stables for the beasts of burden and storehouses for the merchandise.

Towards the center of the town, the houses become richer and more beautiful: traffic increases, luxurious chariots are seen amongst the crowd of pedestrians. [Thanks to the policy of the Assyrians of transplanting the inhabitants of conquered countries all manner of races and nations are to be seen in the crowd — dark Hebrews, fair-haired Aryan Medes, etc.]

19. An Assyrian Palace

Abridged from Maspero, Ancient Egypt and Assyria, p. 202

Within Dur-Sargina rose the majestic palace of Sargon the Great, which is thus reconstructed by M. Maspero.

The royal palace is upon the northeast side of the city, half within, half without the inclosure. [It is set upon a lofty esplanade of brick work],a hillock raised by the labor of man which raises the foot of the walls far above the surrounding roofs. It is accessible from the city only: pedestrians reach it by a double staircase constructed in front of the platform, horsemen and carriages by a greatly sloping ascent. The king dwells there as in a turret, whence he can see the whole country, and which he could defend long after the city had been taken. [At the two chief gates are high masts with the royal standard, and giant sculptured bulls guard the sides of the portals.]

The immense court into which the gates open is a public place which tradesmen of every kind, suppliants and even mere sightseers, enter without the least difficulty. Thousands of persons are attached to the sovereign's household: some as chamberlains, treasurers, scribes, eunuchs, military chiefs: others as footmen, soldiers, and cooks. There is a perpetual movement of detachments relieving guard, couriers coming or going with dispatches: officials going to or coming from an audience: files of donkeys with provisions: and morning and evening hundreds of male and female slaves descend in procession to draw from the tributaries of the Khosr [river] the water needed by such a multitude. . . . [There are vast storerooms, and magazines for weapons, and provisions around this court.]

A small door in the southern angle of the court leads to the harem. Assyrian women of the lower class enjoy almost unlimited independence, but [women of higher rank possess next to no liberty. The queens are the greatest

prisoners of all] they remain invisible during most of their lives, receiving only their family and household.

When Sargon founded his city he had three legitimate wives, and to each he granted a separate establishment: his harem therefore contained three compartments or rather three houses. The internal arrangements of these houses is precisely similar: an anteroom wider than it is long, a drawing-room, of which one half is unroofed, the other half is covered with a semidome, a staircase with eleven steps, and the bedroom. The walls are coated with white stucco, and covered with a black plinth: the floor is flagged or carefully bricked: here and there are carpets, stools, armchairs, low tables, and in the alcove a wooden bed, raised upon feet with its mattress and coverings.

After marriage the life of the queens is passed in this prison: dress, embroidery, needlework, and housekeeping, long conversations with their slaves, the exchange of visits, and the festivals, with dancing and singing — with which they entertain one another — serve for occupation and amusement. From time to time the king passes some hours among them, or invites them to dine in his gardens. . . . [Notwithstanding this monotonous life a thousand intrigues are carried on: the wives are always at war among themselves: the eunuchs take sides: and sometimes a rival is taken off by poison.]

20. Selections from the Code of Hammurabi

Inscription, Translation based upon Translation by C. H. W. Johns in Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, vol. V, p. 599 ff.

The code of Hammurabi is the most remarkable and complete code of ancient law which we have, until we come to the legislation recorded in the Pentateuch. Hammurabi was a famous king of Babylonia who lived about 2240 B.C. He won victories over the neighboring power of Elam, and attempts have been made to iden-

tify him with the Amraphel mentioned in the Bible (Genesis, chap. XIV), but this is extremely uncertain.

The code is sufficiently elaborate to meet the needs of a distinctly complex society, and gives us a high idea of the degree of civilization existing in the Tigro-Euphrates valley in the third millennium B.C. A most interesting study can be made by comparing this code (here quoted only in small part) with the Mosaic legislation, and noting the similarities and dissimilarities. [Two hundred and eighty-two titles are preserved: of which only a few typical ones can here be cited.]

If a man in a case under trial, as a witness to slander, has lied, and has not proved the word which he has spoken, if the case involve a capital penalty, — let him be put to death.

If a man has stolen an ox, or a sheep, or an ass or a pig, or a ship from the temple, or the palace; let him requite thirty fold. But if he have stolen from a poor man he shall repay ten fold.[1] If the robber be not able to pay, let him die the death.

If a man [bringing a lawsuit] has not his witnesses on hand, the judge shall assign him a fixed time [for trial] up to six months: and if within six months he has not produced his witnesses, then he has slandered [in his charges.] He himself then must bear the penalty.

If any one turns bandit and is captured let him die the death.

If the bandit has escaped, the man who has been robbed shall recount before God [*i.e.* state under oath] what he has lost, and the city and governor in whose land and district the robbery occurred, shall repay him what he lost.[2]

If any one has given his field for produce to a farmer, and has received the produce of his field, and afterward a

[1] This statute surely makes one law for the rich, and another law for the poor.

[2] This law is evidently to prevent local magistrates from giving aid and protection to robbers.

thunderstorm has ravaged the field or destroyed the produce, the loss is the farmer's.[1]

[But] if the owner has not received [his share of] the produce of his field, or has given the field either for one half or one third of the corn that was in the field, the farmer and owner of the field shall share [any loss] according to the special wording of their contract.

If any one shall give silver, gold, or anything else to another party on deposit, all things so deposited he shall show to witnesses, and fix the bonds [required.]

If without witnesses or bonds he has given on deposit, and the party receiving later disputes his claim, he has no redress:

[But] if . . . he has given before witnesses, and the other party has disputed his claim [to repayment]: the latter person is liable, and whatever property he has disputed he shall restore double.

If a man has set his face against his son, and declared to the judge; "I intend to cut off my son," then the judge shall seek his reasons: and if the son be not guilty of a great crime such as destroys his rights to sonship, the father may not cut him off.

If a man has caused a man of rank to lose his eye, one of his own eyes must be struck out.

If he has shattered the limb of a man of rank, let his own limb be shattered.

If he has caused a poor man to lose an eye, or has shattered a limb, let him pay one maneh of silver [$ 32.00].

If any one has smitten the cheek of a man his superior in rank, he shall be whipped in the public assembly with 60 strokes with the cowhide lash.

[But] if being a man of rank he so smite another man of rank his equal, let him pay one maneh of silver.

[1] The farmer must stand the entire loss of *his* part of the crop, provided the landlord has already received his share.

[But] if a poor man so smite a poor man, let him pay 10 shekels of silver.

[But] if the servant of a man of rank so strike a freeman, let his ear be cut off.

[Many other penalties for a long catalog of crimes, arranged on a similar scale, follow.]

If a physician has treated a man of rank with a bronze lancet for a severe wound, and caused the nobleman to die, or has removed a cataract from the eye of a nobleman using a bronze lancet, and caused the loss of the eye, — let his hands be cut off.

[If he so treat a slave] and the slave die, he shall render back slave for slave.

If a physician cure the shattered limb of a man of rank, . . . the patient shall give him five shekels of silver.

If the patient is the son of a poor man, he shall give three shekels of silver.

If a cow doctor or an ass doctor has treated a cow or an ass for a severe wound, and affected a cure, the owner thereof shall give the healer one sixth of a silver shekel as his fee.[1]

If any one hire a working ox for one year, he shall pay for its hire four *gur* of corn.

If any one hire an ox or an ass, and a lion kill it in the open field, the owner must stand the loss.

[But] if any one hire an ox, and through negligence or his beatings it die, then he must render back ox for ox to the owner.

[A list of regulations fixing the price for all kinds of personal service, wages, and things connected therewith follows.]

These judgments of righteousness did Hammurabi the mighty king confirm, and caused the land to take on a sure government and a beneficent rule.

[1] But if the creature died, the unlucky veterinary was liable for one fourth of its value. A shekel was about 64 cents.

21. A Babylonian Lawsuit relating to a Jew

Inscription, "Records of the Past" (2d series), vol. I, p. 160

The tablet here quoted will give an idea of the Babylonians' legal practices and documents. "Barachiel" seems to have been a Jew, no doubt one of the "Captivity" carried away by Nebuchadnezzar, when he took Jerusalem (586 B.C.).

Barachiel is a slave of ransom[1] belonging to Gagā the daughter of ——, whom in the 35th year of Nebuchadnezzar (about 570 B.C.) from Akhi-nuri . . . for the third of a maneh and 8 shekels she bought.

Recently he has instituted an action saying thus: "I am the son of a noble ancestor of the family of Belrimanni, who have joined the hands in matrimony of Samas-mudammig the son of Nabu-nadin-akh and the woman Qusadu the daughter of Akhi-nuri, — even I."

In the presence of the high priest, the nobles and the judges of Nabonidus king of Babylon, they pleaded the case and listened to their arguments in regard to the obligation of servitude of [said Barachiel].

From the 35th year of Nebuhadnezzar to the 7th year of Nabonidus [549 B.C.] he had been sold for money, [and] had been put in pledge, and as the dowry of Nubtā the daughter of Gagā had been given. Afterward Nubtā had alienated him by a sealed contract, in exchange for a house and slaves to Zamama-nadin her son, and to Idinâ her husband had given him.

They [the judges] read the evidence and thus said to Barachiel, "Prove to us thy noble ancestry."

Barachiel retracted his former statement, saying, "Twice have I run away from the house of my master, but many people were present and I was seen. I was afraid, and I said accordingly I am the son of a noble ancestor. My

[1] *I.e.* he was entitled to accumulate a private fortune in order to emancipate himself.

citizenship exists not; I am the 'slave of ransom' of Gagā. Nubtā her daughter received me as her dowry. Nubtā alienated me by a sealed contract, and to Zamama-nadin her son and Idinâ her husband gave me in exchange: and after the death of Gagā and Nubtā, to Itti-Marduk-baladh, for silver I was sold.

"I am a slave. Go now, pronounce sentence about me."

The high priest, the nobles and the judges heard the evidence and restored Barachiel to his condition as a 'slave of ransom.'

22. An Akkadian Hymn to the Setting Sun

Inscription, "Records of the Past" (2d series), vol. II, p. 192

This hymn is in the Akkadian language, the most ancient language of the Tigro-Euphrates peoples. The tablet we have seems to date from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar the Great (about 580 B.C.). Along with it goes an interlinear translation into the regular Assyrio-Babylonian tongue. This chant is one of the oldest religious poems in existence. No scholar dare say for how many centuries it had been intoned from the summits of the *ziggurats* (the pyramid-like brick temple-towers) at sundown at every shrine of the Sun God, before it was recorded as here, in the days of the last great king of Babylon.

O Sun, in the middle of the sky, at thy setting,
May the bright gates welcome thee favorably.
May the door of heaven be docile to thee,
May the god who is thy forerunner, thy messenger, mark the way!
In E-bara,[1] the seat of thy royalty, he makes thy greatness shine forth.
May the Moon, thy beloved spouse, come to meet thee with joy.
May thy heart rest in peace,

[1] E-bara was the name of a temple of the Sun God.

May the glory of thy godhead remain with thee.
Powerful hero, O Sun, shine gloriously!
Lord of E-bara, direct in thy road thy foot rightly,
O Sun, in making thy way, take the path marked for thy rays!
Thou art the lord of judgments over the nations.

[A Postscript.]

This is the hymn to the setting sun,
The chanter [at the temple] says it after the beginning of the night.

23. The Assyrian Story of the Creation

Inscription, "Records of the Past" (2d series), vol. I, p. 133

The tablet preserving this story of the creation dates from about 650 B.C., being among the documents discovered in the so-called "Royal Library of Nineveh" — but it is fair to assume that the narrative here given is many centuries older. The account has at some points suggestive similarities to the Hebrew account in Genesis: the later part of the extract here given is taken up with a description of the combat between Bel-Marduk and the dragon Tiamat, — one of the most famous stories in Babylonian-Assyrian mythology.

At that time the heaven above had not yet been announced, or the earth beneath recorded. The unopened deep was their generator, Muminu-Tiamat [the Chaos of the Sea] was the mother of them all. The waters were even bosomed as one, and the cornfield was unharvested, the pasture was ungrown. At that time the gods had not appeared, any of them: by no name were they recorded, no destiny (had they fixed). Then the [great] gods were created, Lakhmu and Lakhamu issued forth [the first], until they grew up [when] Ansar and Kisar[1] were created. Long were the days, extended

[1] Ansar and Kisar seem to have been the "upper" and the "lower firmament."

[was the time, until] the gods Anu, [Bel and Ea were born,] Ansar and Kisar [gave them birth].

[Before the younger gods could find a comfortable habitation for themselves on the earth it was needful to destroy Tiamat, the "Dragon of Chaos," and all her monstrous offspring; this task was undertaken by Bel-Marduk, the sun god of Babylon, who thus narrates his victory.]

The strong one [Marduk] the glorious, who desists not day nor night, the exciter to battle, was disturbed in his heart. Then they marshalled their forces: they created darkness. . . . [And then, says Marduk, "The dragon] the creatress of them all I pursued with my weapons unsurpassed: then did the great snakes bite. With my teeth sharpened unsparingly did I bite. With poisoned breath like blood their bodies I filled. The raging vampires I clothed with terror. I lifted up the lighting flash, on high I launched it. . . .

"I made ready the dragon, the mighty serpent, and the god Lakhamu, the great reptile, the deadly beast, and the scorpion man, the devouring reptiles, the fish man, and the gazelle god; lifting up my weapons that spare not, fearless of battle, strong through the law that (yields?) not before the foe!

"The eleven-fold offspring like him their messenger were utterly overthrown. Among the gods her forces (were routed?). I humbled the god Kingu [the husband of Tiamat] in the sight of his consort the queen.

"They who went in front before the army (I smote), lifting up my weapons, a snare for Tiamat."

[The poet now breaks out in praise of Bel-Marduk.]

O Marduk, thou art glorious among the great gods! Thy destiny is unrivalled. . . . Since that day unchanged is thy command. High and low entreat thy hand! May the

word that goes forth from thy mouth be established. . . . None among the gods has surpassed thy power at the time when thy hand founded the shrine of the god of the sky!

24. Babylonish Prayers and Psalms

Inscription, Jastrow, in Hastings' "Dictionary of the Bible," vol. V, p. 564 ff. [Considerably altered in phrasing]

The ancient Babylonians have left us a large number of prayers and psalms, sometimes expressing a considerable depth of religious feeling. It is worth noticing (1) that they show a consciousness of the dependence of man upon God, unlike some other forms of paganism; (2) that in them the sense of *personal sin* has a very distinct utterance. Comparing them with the Hebrew prayers and psalms it is interesting to observe both their similarities and dissimilarities.

A Prayer by Gudea, a King in Southern Babylonia about 3000 A.D., to the Goddess Ban

O my queen, lofty daughter of Anu,
Who furnishes proper counsel, whose is the highest rank among the gods,
O thou who bestowest very life upon the land. . . .
Thou it is who art queen: the mother thou, who hast founded Shirpula.
That people whereon thou lookest in merciful favor prosper.
Long is the life of the hero whom thou dost regard favorably.
No mother have I — my mother thou art!
No father have I — my father thou art!

A Prayer to Samas the Sun God

Lord, illuminator of the darkness, thou whom the wide sky revealest,
Merciful god, exalter of the humble, protector of the weak:
All the mighty gods look upwards to *thy* light. . . .

All human-kind thou guidest together, as if they were but one man.
Eagerly they look up to thy sunlight, lifting their heads on high.
At thy dayspring, they rejoice, they exult.
The light art thou of the far ends of the heavens.
Thou art the standard for the wide-stretching earth,
All the hosts of men gaze up to thee in joy.

From a Prayer to the Goddess Istar

Take away [I beseech thee] my sin, my iniquity, my transgression and my sin.
Forgive them: accept my petition. . . .
Guide thou my steps that I may walk proudly among my fellows.
Command! and at thy word may the god that has wrath at me be appeased.
Yea, may the wrathful goddess turn favorably towards me!
May the brazier that smoked darkly flame high again!
May my quenchèd torch be rekindled.

Portion of a Prayer by Nebuchadnezzar the Great of Babylon to Marduk

O eternal sovereign lord of the universe, grant that the name of the king whom thou lovest . . . may flourish, even according to thy will. Lead him in the right path. . . . Thou hast created me [Nebuchadnezzar] and to me hast committed the lordship over the peoples. According to thy mercy, O lord, which thou sheddest upon all, may thy sovereignty be merciful! Set thou the fear of thy divine power in my heart! Grant unto me that which is good in thy sight — for thou it is who hast given me life.[1]

[1] According to some writers this prayer of Nebuchadnezzar marks the highest ethical and religious development of the Babylonians.

CHAPTER III

THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

The literary and archæological remains of the Persian Empire are not great. We know of the nation of Cyrus and Darius mainly by their relations with other peoples, particularly with the Greeks, and our views of them are liable to distortion owing to this one-sided evidence. Undoubtedly the Persians were Orientals and subject to many of the Oriental infirmities: their government was a despotism; they were original in none of the fine arts, and learned only too rapidly the vices of the Babylonians, Egyptians, and other races which they subjugated. The conquest of Greece by them would have been a vast calamity; nevertheless in judging them it must never be forgotten that they were the first Aryan folk to build up an abiding empire. At the outset they appear as a high-minded, unspoiled race issuing from the uplands of Asia with much of the noble simplicity and chivalry which characterized the later Germans. Their religion was superior to any other Asiatic faith save that of the Jews. Even their abject devotion to their king has its finer side, with its display of absolute obedience and loyalty. They were in short a race quite worthy to conquer Babylonia, Lydia, and Egypt, and to measure spears with the Hellenes for the leadership of the world.

25. How Cyrus took Babylon

Cylinder Inscription, "Records of the Past" (2d series), vol. V, p. 165 ff.

Cyrus the Persian took Babylon probably in 538 B.C. The last king of Babylonia (Nabonidus) with his crown prince Belshazzar seems to have succumbed after very little fighting. Probably they were more or less usurpers, and did not have the support of part of the priesthood; while Cyrus, although a Zoroastrian,

granted full tolerance, and affected to patronize the Babylonian divinities. The document here quoted is part of the official version put out after the capture, in which the susceptibilities of the citizens of Babylon are treated very tenderly, and Cyrus's coming is represented as something done at the behest of the local god Marduk.

Marduk [god of Babylon] appointed a prince who should guide them aright, the wish of the heart whom his hand upholds, even Cyrus the King of Ansan.[1] He has proclaimed his title; for the sovereignty of all the world does he commemorate his name.

The county of Quti[2] . . . he has subjected to his feet; the men of the black heads [Babylonians] he has caused his hand to conquer. In justice and righteousness has he governed them.

Marduk the great lord, the restorer of his people, beheld with joy the deeds of his vicegerent, who was righteous in hand and heart. To his city of Babylon he summoned him to march. . . . Like a friend and a comrade he went at his side. The weapons of his vast army, whose number, like the waters of a river, could not be known, were marshaled in order and spread itself at his side.

Without fighting and battle Marduk caused him to enter into Babylon. His city of Babylon he spared. Nabonidus the king, who had sought a hiding place, who had revered not Marduk, the god gave into Cyrus's hand.

The men of Babylon all of them, and the whole of Sumer and Accad, the nobles and the high priest bowed themselves before him. They kissed his feet, they rejoiced at his sovereignty. Their faces shone.

The Lord Marduk, who benefits all men in peril and fear has made strong his name.

[Cyrus goes on to boast of his successes, saying,] all the kings who inhabit the high places of all regions from the

[1] Ansan was one of Cyrus's original kingdoms. [2] Modern Kurdistan.

Upper Sea to the Lower Sea,[1] the inhabitants of the inlands, the kings of Syria and the inhabitants of tents, all of them brought their rich tribute, and in Babylon kissed my feet.

26. A Jewish Utterance Concerning Cyrus

The Bible, Book of Isaiah, chap. XLV, 1–4, chap. XLVI, 1–2

To the monotheistic Jews exiled in Babylon the conquest by Cyrus must have seemed a deliverance. There was much in common between the worshipper of the righteous Jehovah and the worshipper of the righteous Ahura-Mazda. Very possibly Hebrews within the gates had assisted Cyrus's entrance. His victory was hailed as a triumph wrought by the aid of Jehovah over the oppressive idolators of Babylon: and certain it is that under the Persian rule Jerusalem was rebuilt and the Jews enjoyed not a little favor from the government.

Thus saith Jehovah to his anointed, to Cyrus whose right hand I have holden, to subdue peoples before him: —

I will loose the loins of kings, to open before him the two-leaved gates [of Babylon] and the gates shall not be shut [against him].

I will go before thee [O Cyrus], and I will make straight the crooked places.

I will break in pieces the gates of brass.

I will cut in sunder the bars of iron.

And I will give thee the treasures of darkness: and the hidden hordes of riches: that thou mayest know that I Jehovah — who called thee by thy name, am the God of Israel.

For Jacob my servant's sake, and Israel mine elect, I have even called thee by thy name: I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me.

[Then somewhat later the prophet glories over the triumph of monotheistic Persians over the gods of Babylon.]

[1] From Lake Van in Armenia to the Persian Gulf.

Bel boweth down,
Nabu stoopeth also.
Their idols were upon the beasts and the cattle.
Your carriages [men of Babylon] were a heavy burden: yea, a heavy burden to the weary beast: [but now]
They stoop, they bow down together.
They could not deliver the burden, but themselves are gone into captivity.

27. The Great Inscription of Darius at Behistun

Rawlinson's Translation, in the Rawlinson "Herodotus," Ed. 1862, vol. II, p. 490

Behistun is on the western frontier of ancient Media, on the road from Babylon to Ecbatana, a great thoroughfare in the days of Persian supremacy. The writing is engraved on the face of a cliff that rises 1700 feet high, and the inscription itself is 300 feet from the base of the rock, and can only be reached with difficulty and peril. It is in three languages, Persian, Babylonian, and Susian. The translation is abridged from that of Colonel Rawlinson — a distinguished English explorer — who fixes the date at 516 B.C.

In many ways this is among the most important and interesting inscriptions preserved from antiquity. It both confirms many of the stories of Herodotus, and also corrects him as to certain details. While no doubt the "royal scribes" are responsible for its peculiar literary form, it is very likely we are given what the mighty Darius (reigned 521 to 485 B.C.) himself wished to have pass as the true record of his deeds and greatness. A tone of genuine piety runs through the inscription, and one gets a clear idea, — conveyed with less than the usual Oriental boasting, — of how great were the perils Darius had to overcome with his stout heart and military genius. Darius is justly regarded as the second founder of the Persian monarchy. Thanks to his energy and the brave loyalty of his native Persians, the Pseudo-Bardiya was deposed, a vast number of rebels crushed, and the Persian Empire put on so firm a basis that it lasted down to the time of Alexander. Darius was an infinitely more admirable ruler than such Assyrians as Sennacherib.

I am Darius the great king, the king of kings, the king of the subject provinces, the son of Hystaspes, the grandson of Arsames, the Achæmenian.

Says Darius the King . . . from antiquity our family have been kings.

Says Darius the King, There are eight of my race who have been kings before me, I am the ninth.

Says Darius the King, By the grace of Ahura-Mazda I am king, Ahura-Mazda has granted me the empire.

Says Darius the King, These are the countries which have come unto me, by the grace of Ahura-Mazda I have become king over them; — Persia, Susiana, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, . . . Ionia, Media, Armenia, Cappadocia, Parthia, Bactria, the Sacae[1] [and other lands,] in all twenty-three provinces.

Says Darius the King: Within those counties the man who was good, him have I right well cherished. Whoever was evil, him have I utterly rooted out. By the grace of Ahuar-Mazda these are the countries by whom my laws have been observed; as it has been said to them by me so by them it has been done.

Says Darius the King: This is what was done by me after I became king. There was a man named Cambyses the son of Cyrus who was king before me [529 to 522 B.C.]. Of that Cambyses there was a brother, — Bardiya was his name. . . . Presently Cambyses slew this Bardiya. When he had slain Bardiya it was not known to the people that Bardiya was slain; then Cambyses proceeded to [the conquest of] Egypt. When Cambyses had gone thither to Egypt the state became wicked. Then the Lie abounded in the land, — in Persia, in Media, and in the other provinces.

Says Darius the King: Next there arose a certain man, a Magian, named Gaumata. . . . Thus he lied to the state, "I am Bardiya, son of Cyrus and brother of Cambyses." Then

[1] A nomadic people of Central Asia, near sources of Oxus and Jaxartes.

the whole empire became rebellious; from Cambyses it went over to him,—Persia, Media, and all the other provinces. He seized the empire. . . . Afterward Cambyses, unable to endure this, died.

Says Darius the King: The empire of which Gaumata the Magian dispossessed Cambyses, that Empire from the olden time had been long in our family. After Gaumata had dispossessed Cambyses . . . he did according to his desire, — he became king.

Says Darius the King: There was not a man, neither Persian nor Median nor any of our family, who could dispossess that Gaumata of the crown. The state feared him exceedingly. He slew many people who had known the old Bardiya, — and for this reason he slew them, — "Lest they should recognize that I am not Bardiya the son of Cyrus." No one dared to say anything concerning Gaumata until I arrived. Then I prayed unto Ahura-Mazda. He brought me help. On the tenth day of the month Bagaydish, then it was that with my faithful men I slew Gaumata and his chief followers. At the fort Sictachotes in that district of Media called Nisæa there I slew him. I dispossessed him of the empire. By the grace of Ahura-Mazda I became king. He granted me the scepter.

Says Darius the King: The empire that had been taken from our family that I recovered. I rooted it in its place. . . . The temples which Gaumata had destroyed I restored. The sacred offices of the state, both the religious chants and the worship, I restored to the people who had been deprived of them by Gaumata. I established the state in its place both in Persia, Media, and in the provinces. . . .

Says Darius the King: When I had slain Gaumata the Magian, then a man named Atrines arose . . to the state of Susiana he said, "I am the king of Susiana." Then the Susianians became rebellious, they went over to Atrines, he became king over Susiana. And a man, a Babylonian

Nidintabelus by name, he arose, to the state of Babylon he falsely declared "I am Nabuchodrossor, the son of Nabonidus";[1] afterward the whole state of Babylon became rebellious. He seized the kingdom of Babylonia.

How Darius won back the Rebellious Provinces

Says Darius the King: Then I went to Susa. That Atrines was brought to me a prisoner. I slew him.

Says Darius the King: Then I went to Babylon against that Nidintabelus. . . . His people held the Tigris. There they were posted and they had boats. There I approached a detachment on rafts. I brought the enemy into difficulty. I carried their position. Ahura-Mazda brought me help. By His grace I crossed the Tigris. There I slew many of the troops of that Nidintabelus. On the twenty-sixth day of the month Atriyata it was we fought the battle.

Says Darius the King: Then I went to Babylon. When I was near to Babylon, at the city called Zazana, on the Euphrates, there it was that Nidintabelus, who was called Nabuchodrossor, came with his forces against me to do battle. Then we fought a battle. Ahura-Mazda helped me; by His grace I slew many of the troops of Nidintabelus. The enemy was driven (?) into the water. The water destroyed them.

Says Darius the King: Then Nidintabelus with the horsemen that were faithful to him fled to Babylon. Then I went to Babylon. By the grace of Ahura-Mazda I both took Babylon, and seized that Nidintabelus.

Then I slew that Nidintabelus at Babylon.

Says Darius the King: while I was at Babylon these are the countries that revolted against me, — Persia, Media, Assyria, Armenia, Parthia, Margiana, Sattagydia, Sacia. [In Susiana also arose another usurper, one Martiya, but]

[1] The last Babylonian king before the conquest by Cyrus.

Says Darius the King: While I was moving a little in the direction of Susiana, then the Susianians, fearing me, seized that Martiya. He who was their chief slew him.

Says Darius the King: A man named Phraortes, a Mede, he rose up. To the state of Media he said, "I am Athrites of the race of Cynaxares."[1] Then the Median troops that were with him revolted; they went over to him; he became king over Media.

Says Darius the King: The army of Persians and Medes that was with me remained faithful to me. Then I sent forth troops; Hydarnes, a Persian, I made their leader, and thus I spake to them, "Go forth and smite the Median state that does not acknowledge me." Then Hydarnes marched with his army; when he reached Media, at a city in Media named Marus (?), he fought a battle with the Medes. The leader of the Medes could not resist him, Ahura-Mazda brought help to me, by His grace the troops of Hydarnes utterly defeated that rebel army. . . . Then that army of mine waited for me[2] . . . until I arrived in Media. . . .

[Other generals of Darius were in the meantime crushing the formidable revolt in Armenia.]

Says Darius the King: Then I went out from Babylon, I proceeded to Media. When I reached . a city called Kudrusia, there Phraortes, who was called "King of Media," came with a host to give me battle. Then we fought a battle. Ahura-Mazda aided me; with His help I entirely defeated the army of Phraortes.

Says Darius the King: Then Phraortes . . . fled to a part of Media called Rhages. There I sent an army, by which he was taken and brought before me. I cut off his nose, and his ears, and his tongue (?), and I led him away

[1] And therefore of the old Median royal house, before the Persian conquest.

[2] This would hardly have happened if the rebel Medes had really been "utterly defeated."

captive. He was kept captive before my door; all the kingdom beheld him. Then I crucified him at Ecbatana; and his chief followers I slew within the citadel of Ecbatana.

[In similar manner Darius tells how the rebels in Sagartia, Parthia, Margiana, Bactria, etc., were crushed by him. There was a second revolt in Babylonia, another false Bardiya arose in Persia, but Darius subdued all his enemies. The inscription continues:]

Says Darius the King: This is what I have done. By the grace of Ahura-Mazda I have accomplished the whole. After that [other rebel] kings arose against me. I fought nineteen battles. By Ahura-Mazda's grace I smote them and took nine kings prisoners. [Then follows a list of the rebels and the provinces that followed them] . . .

Darius's Instructions to his Successor

Says Darius the King: Thou that mayest be king after me, keep thyself utterly from lies.[1] The man who may be a liar, him destroy utterly. If thou shalt thus do, my country will remain in its integrity.

Says Darius the King: These are the deeds I have done. By the grace of Ahura-Mazda have I executed the whole. Thou who shalt read this tablet hereafter, let that which I have done be a warning to thee, that thou lie not. . . .

Says Darius the King: Beware, my successor (?), lest that which has been wrought by me, be not by thee concealed. If thou conceal not this edict, but tell it to the country, may Ahura-Mazda be a friend to thee, may thy children be many,[2] and mayest thou live long.

Says Darius the King: This is the reason that Ahura-Mazda and the other heavenly powers helped me,—because I was not wicked, nor was I a liar, nor was I tyrannical.

[1] The cardinal sin, according to Zoroastrian ethics.

[2] A numerous posterity was among the highest goods in Persia.

. . . He who labored for my family, him I have cherished; he who has been hostile (?) to me, him have I utterly destroyed.

Says Darius the King: Thou who mayest be king afterward, the man that is a liar and an evil-doer (?) befriend him not. Destroy such with the edge of the sword.

[The remainder of the tablet, so far as it can still be read, invokes blessings on whoever shall preserve the inscription, invokes curses on any who may destroy it, gives a list of the six friends of Darius who aided him to slay Gaumata, the usurper, and gives a much mutilated account of still another revolt that Darius quelled in Susiana.]

28. The Persians' Devotion to their King

Herodotus, book VIII, chap. 118. Rawlinson, Translator

The Persians paid an implicit obedience to their king, even beyond the majority of Oriental peoples. To a certain extent this devotion was a national advantage, leading to acts of marvelous self-sacrifice for the common cause which the king represented. At other times it ran into sheer absurdities and servility, as in the case of a captain, who, — when ordered by the sovereign to be bastinadoed, — "congratulated himself that the king had deigned to notice his existence." The anecdote here cited from the reign of Xerxes (485 to 465 B.C.) illustrates the attitude of the great Persian nobles to a very exacting and incompetent master.

It is said that when Xerxes on his way from Athens [retreating from Greece after his unsuccessful invasion]: arrived at Eion upon the Strymon, he gave up traveling by land, and embarked himself on board a Phœnician ship, and so crossed into Asia. On his voyage the ship was assailed by a strong wind blowing from the mouth of the Strymon, which caused the sea to run high. As the storm increased, and the ship labored heavily, because of the number of the Persians who had come in the king's train, and who now

crowded the deck, Xerxes was seized with fear, and called out to the helmsman in a loud voice, asking him, if there were any means whereby they might escape the danger. "No means, master," the helmsman answered, "unless we could be quit of these too numerous passengers." Xerxes, they say, on hearing this, addressed the Persians as follows: "Men of Persia," he said, "now is the time for you to show what love ye bear your king. My safety, as it seems, depends wholly upon you." So spake the king; *and the Persians instantly made obeisance, and then leapt over into the sea.* Thus was the ship lightened, and Xerxes got safe to Asia. As soon as he had reached the shore, he sent for the helmsman, and gave him a golden crown because he had preserved the life of the king, — but because he had caused the death of a number of Persians, he ordered his head to be struck from his shoulders.

29. A Sermon attributed to Zoroaster

Adapted from the Yasna (chap. XXX) of the Zend-Avesta, Bartholomæ, Translator

Certain investigators have argued that Zoroaster (more correctly Zarathustra) never lived, that he and his ministry were part of a network of myth. It seems very probable, however, that Zoroaster was an historic personage, who sometime about 1000 B.C. passed among the rude Aryan tribes on the uplands of mid-Asia, preaching a stern high doctrine of righteousness, banishing the old Iranian superstitions, and developing a religion far nobler than almost all others in the East. Zoroaster seems to have taught a doctrine of dualism that formed a satisfactory rough-and-ready solution to the problem of sin and evil — quite sufficient to meet the questionings of an unenlightened age. Along with this went a firm insistence on the necessity of personal truth and uprightness. The certainty of ultimate reward for the righteous and punishment for the wicked is emphasized in no hesitant terms. The discourse, here quoted, attributed to Zoroaster, has been likened to the "Sermon on the Mount," as giving the cardinal points of his notable gospel.

Now do I proclaim it: O ye that draw nigh — hear what the wise should receive in their hearts — even the songs of praise and the holy rites which men in piety pay unto Ahura [the Lord] and the holy truths and precepts. Hidden were they aforetime, now they appear in the light.

The two Spirits [there were], the Twain and skillfully created. Good and Evil were they in the beginning and thus in thought, in speech, in works. Betwixt these two rightly have the wise made choice: but not so the foolish.

When these two spirits had agreed to institute life and death, and had decreed that finally the followers of the Lie [the misbelievers] should receive misery, and the followers of Truth should receive happiness, then of these Twain, the lying one chose the Evil, while the holier one, — he who hath put on the firm heavens as a garment, — he hath elected the Right, and with him all who desire to do right in the sight of Ahura-Mazda. . .

The dævas [demons] also made not the right choice: for whilst they debated folly mastered them — therefore they chose the Evil. In the house of violence they gathered to destroy the life of human kind.

But when vengeance has requited their violence, then O Ahura-Mazda, surely the sovereign power will be given by thy Good Mind to those who have aided the Truth to win the mastery over the Lie.

Therefore will we hold to those who do betimes lead this life even to perfect righteousness.

For then destruction shall smite the liar, while those who keep the good doctrine shall assemble unhindered in the beautiful abode [of the holy ones.]

If then, O men, ye lay in heart the laws established by Mazda, the good and the evil, the long torments for the lovers of falsehood, the bliss awaiting the true believers — well shall it be with you.

30. The Zoroastrian Story of the Chinvat Bridge and the Judgment of the Soul

Adapted from Yast XXII (Darmesteter, Translator) "Sacred Books of the East," vol. III, part II, p. 315 ff.

In the portion of the Zend-Avesta called the Yasts occur some of the most exalted passages of the Zoroastrian scriptures. The tone is often noble, poetic, and far above the spiritual level of the average of the "Sacred Books" of the Orient. Probably most Westerners will assent to the suggestion that the *best parts* of the Zend-Avesta come closer to the high standard set by the Hebrew Scriptures, than any other Oriental writing. The passage here given gives a highly poetic picture of the reception of the Blessed into Paradise.

At the head of the Chinvat Bridge, betwixt this world and the next, when the soul goes over it, there comes a fair, white-armed and beautiful figure, like a maid in her fifteenth year, as fair as the fairest things in the world. And the soul of the true believer speaks to her, "What maid art thou, — all surpassing in thy beauty?" And she makes answer, "O youth of good thought, good works, and good deeds, of good religion: — *I am thine own conscience.*"

Then pass the souls of the righteous to the golden seat of Ahura-Mazda, of the Archangels, to Garō-nmano, "The Abode of Song."

[Next as the antithesis, the Zend-Avesta tells how the souls of the wicked are met by a foul hag and are plunged into endless torment.]

The Zoroastrian Belief in the Deified Dead

We worship the Fravashis [deified spirits] of the holy men of the lands of the Aryans: . . . of the women of the lands of the Aryans: yea of the holy men and holy women of *all* the lands.

We worship the goodly, powerful, kindly Fravashis of the most rejoicing Fire. . . . We sacrifice unto the Fravashis of those that have been: of those that will be: to all the Fravashis of all nations, and especially to those of the friendly nations!

The Zoroastrian Hymn to the star Tishtrya (Sirius)

We sacrifice to Tishtrya, the bright star and glorious, who moves in light with the stars that have in them the seed of the waters: whom Ahura-Mazda has established as a lord and overseer above all stars. . . .

We sacrifice unto Tishtrya, the bright star, and glorious, for whom desire the standing waters and the running spring-waters, the stream waters and the rain waters: [that he cause the clouds to send down rain]. . . .

We sacrifice unto Tishtrya, the bright star and glorious: whose rising is watched by men who live on the crops of the field: by the wise chieftains: by wild beasts on the hills, by tame beasts running on the plain lands; as he comes up to the country, they watch him, [to see] whether the presage of the year be foul or favorable: each man thinking within his heart, "How shall the Aryan countries be fertile?"

31. Customs of the Persians

Herodotus, book I, 131–139. Rawlinson, Translator

Herodotus, the famous Greek historian, in his travels as far as Babylon, about 450 B.C., had ample opportunity to see the Persians and their customs. If in points he reports inaccurately, the main details are probably correct.

The customs which I know the Persians to observe are the following. They have no images of the gods, no temples nor altars, and consider the use of them a sign of folly. This comes, I think, from their not believing the gods to

have the same nature with men, as the Greeks imagine. Their wont, however, is to ascend to the summits of the loftiest mountains and there to offer sacrifice to Zeus [= Ahura-Mazda], which is the name they give to the whole circuit of the firmament.

To these gods the Persians offer sacrifice in the following manner: they raise no altar, light no fire, pour no libations; there is no sound of the flute, no putting on of chaplets, no consecrated barley cake; but the man who wishes to sacrifice brings his victim to a spot of ground which is free from pollution, and then calls upon the name of the god to whom he intends to offer. It is usual to have the turban encircled with a wreath, most commonly of myrtle. The sacrificer is not allowed to pray for blessings on himself alone, but he prays for the welfare of the king and of the whole Persian people, among whom he is of necessity included. He cuts the victim in pieces, and having boiled the flesh, he lays it out upon the tenderest herbage he can find, trefoil especially. When all is ready, one of the Magi comes forward and chants a hymn, which they say recounts the origin of the gods. It is not lawful to offer a sacrifice unless there is a Magus present. After waiting a short time the sacrificer carries the flesh of the victim away with him, and makes whatever use of it he may please.

It is also their general practice to deliberate upon affairs of weight when they are drunk; and then on the morrow, when they are sober, the decision to which they came the night before is put before them by the master of the house in which it was made; and if it is then approved of, they act upon it; if not, they set it aside. Sometimes, however, they are sober at their first deliberation, but in this case they always reconsider the matter under the influence of wine.

When they meet each other in the street, you may know if the persons meeting are of equal rank by the following

token: if they are, instead of speaking, they kiss each other on the lips. In the case where one is a little inferior to the other, the kiss is given on the cheek; where the difference of rank is great, the inferior prostrates himself upon the ground. Of nations, they honor most their nearest neighbors, whom they esteem next to themselves; those who live beyond these they honor in the second degree; and so with the remainder, the further they are removed, the less the esteem in which they hold them. The reason is, that they look upon themselves as very greatly superior in all respects to the rest of mankind, regarding others as approaching in excellence in proportion as they dwell nearer to them; whence it comes to pass that those who are the farthest off must be the most degraded of mankind.

There is no nation which so readily adopts foreign customs as the Persians.[1] Thus, they have taken the dress of the Medes, considering it superior to their own; and in war they wear the Egyptian breastplate. As soon as they hear of any luxury, they instantly make it their own. Each of them has several wives, and a still larger number of concubines.

Next to prowess in arms, it is regarded as the greatest proof of manly excellence, to be the father of many sons. Every year the king sends rich gifts to the man who can show the largest number; for they hold that number is strength. Their sons are carefully instructed from their fifth to their twentieth year, in three things alone, — to ride, to draw the bow, and to speak the truth. Until their fifth year they are not allowed to come into the sight of their father, but pass their lives with the women. This is done that, if the child die young, the father may not be afflicted by its loss.

To my mind it is a wise rule, as also is the following —

[1] This was the greatest weakness of the Persians, and the chief cause of their decline.

that the king shall not put any one to death for a single fault, and that none of the Persians shall visit a single fault in a slave with any extreme penalty; but in every case the services of the offender shall be set against his misdoings; and if the latter be found to outweigh the former, the aggrieved party shall then proceed to punishment.

They hold it unlawful to talk of anything which it is unlawful to do. The most disgraceful thing in the world, they think, is to tell a lie, the next worse to owe a debt, because among other reasons, the debtor is obliged to tell lies.

CHAPTER IV

EARLIEST GREECE

Of the actual annals of the earliest dwellers in Hellas we know very little; of their civilization we know a great deal. This is owing mainly to the archæological remains discovered in the last generation at Mycenæ, Tiryns, Troy, etc., and still more recently in Crete; and even more to our priceless heritage in the Homeric poems. Most scholars are no longer willing to consider the "Siege of Troy" as a mere creation of the imagination, however much the true story of the fall of the royal city by the Hellespont may be overshadowed in the tales of the minstrels; still less are they now prone to treat the descriptions of life in the Homeric poems as untypical of their day and age. It is probable enough that the ancient remains we find in Crete and on the Greek mainland are considerably older than the oldest parts of the "Iliad,"[1] nevertheless the transitions in this earlier civilization were probably made somewhat gradually; and the "World of Homer" was a world that had kept certain common characteristics for many centuries. Besides a quotation from a modern writer as to the habits of the ancient Cretans, there are here presented a number of excerpts from the "Iliad" and "Odyssey" that illustrate the life of the epic period, also a quotation from the still later poet Hesiod, who gives a picture of farming and trading conditions just as the Greek world was emerging into the clear light of history.

32. The Early Cretans

C. H. and H. B. Hawes, "Crete the Forerunner of Greece," p. 26 ff.

Very recently archæologists have discovered in Crete the remains of a magnificent civilization that reached its highest

[1] Which in turn is considerably older than the "Odyssey."

prosperity about 1500 B. C. and which had declined greatly by the time of the so-called "Homeric Age" in Greece. It is not likely that these Cretans were of the same race as the Greeks, who are now looked upon as intruders probably into the Ægean basin from the north; but it is likely that bold sailors of Cnossos and the other Cretan cities gave the Homeric "Achæans" many or most of their ideas of civilization. About 1450 B.C. Cnossos was destroyed by invaders, and the island never recovered its old prosperity.

Pictures of the early Cretans have survived on the walls of Egyptian tombs and Cretan palaces, and we have small likenesses of them in bronze figurines, gem intaglios, and steatite reliefs. Making due allowance for artistic conventions, we may come to some fairly reliable conclusions. The men were bronzed as are the men of Crete today, with beardless faces and dark hair, which they wore coiled in three twists on their head, and falling in three long curls over their shoulders. The women's complexions were, no doubt, fairer; artists politely represented them as white, while they used a copper hue for the men. Heads were small, features were rather sharp . . . and the women who dance and converse on the Cnossian walls have a self-assurance and sparkle that modern belles might envy. . . .

Women's dress became more and more elaborate [during the ages of Cretan civilization] until it reached an astonishingly modern standard in the fifteenth century B.C. Careful cutting and fitting, fine sewing, and exquisite embroidery were called into play. We learn the result from the frescoes and figurines: we find the lost needles and bodkins buried in Cretan houses. . . . Fashion favored bell-shaped skirts, the style of which is varied by flounces and bands, while often the skirt is flounced from top to bottom with ruffles of varying widths and colors. . . . [Speaking of the dress of a "Snake Goddess," Lady Evans says:] "The whole costume seems to consist of garments

carefully sewn, and fitted to the shape without any flowing draperies. . . . The lines adopted are those considered ideal by the modern corset maker rather than those of the sculptor. . . ."

[Men dressed much more simply, but sometimes wore feathered headdresses and turbans. Both sexes wore necklaces, and armlets, also beads of semiprecious stones, rock crystal, and blue paste or Kyanos.]

Cretan Architecture

[At the time of their highest prosperity the Cretans built their houses in a style more modern than classical.]

Houses built on a slope had basement doors connecting with a back door on the downhill side, while the entrance to the main floor was by a doorway flush with the street. Crossing the main entrance one found himself in a paved antechamber with several doors leading to the ground floor rooms. . . . Strong timbers were needed for the support of the second stories, for even upper floors were sometimes of stone, as in many modern Italian houses. Windows are represented in the faience copies of houses found at Cnossos, and are painted red, as if to indicate the use of an oiled and scarlet-tinted parchment where we to-day use glass.

[Vastly more elaborate than these houses of the commonality were the great palaces.]

The palace of Cnossos was a town in itself! It stood four stories high on the east side, and had a floor space of not less than four acres. . . . It is a veritable maze of chambers, magazines, and courts disposed in well-defined groups of apartments, on certain broad lines of symmetry, but in a rambling style wholly opposed to the classic. Finely squared limestone, handsome blocks of gypsum, columns of cypress, brilliant wall paintings contributed to the splendid appearance. The palace possessed two great

courts, a theatrical area, audience chambers, bathrooms, and a drainage system not equaled in Europe between that day and the nineteenth century. Suitably secluded within this labyrinthian structure we find domestic apartments planned to please men and women of fastidious habits, exacting in their demand for ease and magnificence.

[There are stone benches and platforms still preserved in the rooms, and besides these no doubt there were stools, chairs, rugs, etc., and traces survive of the panels of a splendid wooden chest inlaid with faience mosaic. Magnificent three and four-wicked lamps were used.]

The richest decorations of Cretan rooms consisted in elaborate mural paintings between formal borders. . . . We can imagine the picturesque scenes in the halls of the palaces when the larger lamps were alight . . . sending a fitful glare through the columned chambers and lighting up the gayly colored costumes of lords and ladies listening to sea tales or the adventures of the bull chase.

(In addition to this magnificence, there is ample evidence of developed industries, beautiful pottery and metal manufactures; a great sea traffic especially to Egypt; and many remains of a written language, at present undecipherable.)

33. The Homeric Assembly

Abridged from "The Iliad," book II, ll. 50 ff., Lang, Leaf, and Myers' Translation

What the Homeric *Agora* (Public Assembly) was, as well as the method of convening it, the conduct of business by the leading "King" and his fellow nobles, etc., is well set forth in this passage from the "Iliad," telling how Agamemnon assembled the Greeks to arrange a general assault upon the Trojans. For the sake of brevity the various speeches, often very interesting, are condensed, but the descriptive matter, important for historical purposes, is left intact.

Now went the goddess Dawn to high Olympus foretelling daylight to Zeus and all the immortals: and the king [Agamemnon] bade the clear-voiced heralds summon to the assembly the flowing-haired Achæans. So did those summon, and these gathered with speed.

But first the council of the great-hearted elders met beside the ship of King Nestor the Pylos-born, and he that had assembled them [Agamemnon] then framed his cunning council: [declaring that he had had a dream presaging victory, therefore he urged the Achæans to haste to arms.] "But first (said he) I will speak to make trial of them as is fitting, and will bid them flee with their benched ships, only do ye from this side and from that speak to hold them back."

So spake he and sate him down: and there stood up among them Nestor, who was king of sandy Pylos. He of good intent made harangue, and said that [inasmuch as Agamemnon had beheld this dream, they should summon the Achæans to battle].

The Convening of the Assembly

So spake he, and led the way from the council, and all the other sceptered chiefs rose with him and obeyed the shepherd of the host: and the people hastened to them. Even as when the tribes of thronging bees issue from some hollow rock, ever in fresh procession, and fly clustering among the flowers of spring, and some on this hand and some on that fly thick, even so from ships and huts before the low beach, marched forth their many tribes by companies to the place of assembly. . . . And the place of assemblage was in an uproar, and the earth echoed again as the hosts sate them down, and there was turmoil. Nine heralds restrained them with shouting, if perchance they might refrain from clamor, and hearken to their kings — the fosterlings of Zeus. And hardly at last would the people sit,

and keep them to their benches and cease from noise. Then stood up Lord Agamemnon bearing his scepter that Hephæstos had wrought curiously. . . . Thereon he leaned and spake his saying to the Argives. . . . [He bemoaned the ill fate of the war, the nine years of fighting and no victory: now since all was vain, bitter as disappointment was], "let us flee with our ships to our dear native land: for now shall we never take wide-wayed Troy."

So spake he, and stirred the spirit in the breasts of all throughout the multitude as many as had not heard the council [of the chiefs]. And the assembly swayed like high sea-waves of the Icarian Main[1] that east wind and south wind raise, rushing upon them from the clouds of Father Zeus. And even as when the west wind cometh to stir a deep cornfield with violent blast, and the ears bow down, so was all the assembly stirred, and they with shouting hasted towards the ships; and the dust from beneath their feet rose and stood on high. And they bade each man his neighbor to seize the ships and drag them into the bright salt sea, and cleared out the launching ways: and the noise went up to heaven of their hurrying homeward; and they began to take the props from beneath the ships.

[Then the Argives would verily have abandoned Troy, had not Athenē stirred up Odysseus to go out and persuade the folk to tarry a little.]

How Odysseus restored Order

He set him to a run and cast away his mantle which his herald gathered up, even Eurybates of Ithaca that waited on him. And himself he went to meet Agamemnon son of Atreus, and at his hand received the scepter of his sires, imperishable forever, wherewith he took his way amid the ships of the mail-clad Achæans.

[1] The Mid-Ægean — near the island of Icaria.

Whenever he found one that was a captain and man of mark he stood by his side and restrained him with gentle words: "Good sir, it is not seemly to affright thee like a coward, but do thou sit thyself and make thy folk sit down. [Agamemnon is only putting us to trial. . . .]"

But whatever man of the people he saw and found him shouting, him he drave with his scepter and chode him with loud words: "Good sir, sit still and hearken to the words of others who are thy betters. . . . In no wise can we Achæans all be kings here. A multitude of masters is no good thing. *Let there be one master, one king, to whom the son of crooked-counselling Cronos hath granted it.*" [1]

So masterfully ranged he the host: and they hasted back to the assembly from ships and huts, with noise as when a wave of the loud-sounding sea roareth on the long beach and the main resoundeth.

Thersites the Demagogue

Now all the rest sat down, and kept their place upon the benches, only Thersites [2] still chattered on, the uncontrolled of speech, whose mind was full of words many and disorderly, wherewith to strive against the chiefs idly and in no good order, but even as he deemed he should make the Argives laugh. And he was ill-favored beyond all men that came to Ilios. Bandy-legged was he, and lame of one foot, and his two shoulders rounded, arched down upon his chest; and over them his head was warped, and a scanty stubble sprouted out of it.

Now with shrill shout he poured forth his upbraidings upon goodly Agamemnon. With him the Achæans were sore

[1] A saying often quoted later in Greece in defense of the claims of monarchy.

[2] In bringing in the interruption of Thersites and his discomfiture, the Homeric bard is introducing an incident very likely to appeal to the audience in the princely halls where he would be reciting.

vexed and had indignation in their souls. But he with loud shout spoke and reviled Agamemnon . . . [calling the Achæans shameful fools and women for serving him longer in this purposeless, disastrous war, waged for his own selfish ends].

So spake Thersites, reviling Agamemnon shepherd of the host: but goodly Odysseus came straight at his side, and looking sternly at him with hard words rebuked him . . . [then] with his staff he smote his back and shoulders. And he bowed down and a big tear fell from him, and a bloody weal stood up from his back beneath the golden scepter. Then he sat down and was amazed, and in pain with a helpless look wiped away the tear . . . [while the others made mock at him].

How the Chief addressed the People

Then up rose Odysseus waster of cities with the scepter in his hand. And by his side bright-eyed Athenē in the likeness of a herald bade the multitude keep silence, that the sons of the Achæans, both the nearest and the farthest, might hear his words and give heed to his counsel. . . . [And set forth to them that though the siege had been weary, mighty omens as interpreted by the seers made it plain that now in the tenth year of the siege, Troy must perish: therefore let them abide for the battle.]

So spake he, and the Argives shouted aloud, and all around the ships echoed terribly to the voice of the Achæans as they praised the saying of godlike Odysseus. And then [Nestor spoke urging all to battle, and counseling Agamemnon to separate the captains and men into their tribes and companies]. "So wilt thou know whether it is by divine command that thou shalt not take the city, or by the baseness of thy warriors, and their ill skill in battle."

[To him Agamemnon answered assenting and then com

manded the Achæans:] "Go ye now to your meal that we may join the battle. Let each man sharpen well his spear and bestow well his shield, and let him give his fleet-footed steeds their meal, and look well to his chariot on every side, and take thought for battle, that all day long we may contend in hateful war. . . . On each man's breast shall the baldric of his covering shield be wet with sweat, and his hand shall grow faint about the spear, and each man's horse shall sweat as he draweth the polished chariot. And whomsoever I perceive minded to tarry far from the fight beside the beaked ships, for him shall there be no hope to escape the dogs and birds of prey."

Agamemnon offers Public Prayer

So spake he, and the Argives shouted aloud, like a wave, when the south wind cometh and stirreth it. . . . And they stood up and scattered in haste throughout the ships, and took their meal. And they did sacrifice each man to the everlasting gods, praying for escape from death and the tumult of battle But Agamemnon, king of men, slew a fat bull of five years to most mighty Cronion [Zeus], and called the elders [to join in the sacrifice]. . . . They stood around the bull and took the barley meal. And Agamemnon made his prayer in their midst, and said:

"Zeus, most glorious, most great, god of the storm cloud, that dwellest in the heaven, vouchsafe that the sun shall not set on us, nor the darkness come near till I have laid low upon the earth Priam's palace smirched with smoke, and burnt the doorways thereof with consuming fire: and rent from Hector's breast his doublet cleft with the blade; while about him full many of his comrades prone in the dust do bite the earth." [1]

Now when they had prayed and sprinkled the barley

[1] Note the absolutely Pagan sentiments of this prayer.

meal they first drew back the bull's head, and cut his throat and flayed him, and cut slices from the thighs and wrapped them in fat, making a double fold, and laid raw collops thereon. And these they burnt on cleft wood stripped of leaves, and spitted the vitals and laid them over Hephæstos's flame. . . . [They roasted the flesh, and feasted thereon: then Nestor counseled that the folk be ordered to the fight, and] straightway Agamemnon bade the clear-voiced heralds summon to battle the flowing-haired Achæans.

34. The Episode of Dolon: a Typical Homeric Episode

"The Iliad," book X, ll. 315 ff., Lang, Leaf, and Myers' Translation

The episode of Dolon is very typical of the whole style of Homeric warfare. It is substantially complete in itself, and illustrates alike the method of fighting by personal duel and ambush, and the premium that the Greek genius put upon *successful* guile. Odysseus only increased the esteem in which his comrades held him by giving Dolon an implied promise of his life if he would betray the positions of the Trojans, and then allowing Diomedes to slaughter the prisoner in cold blood.

Now there was among the Trojans one Dolon, the son of Eumedes, the godlike herald, and he was rich in gold and rich in bronze, and verily he was ill-favored to look upon but swift of foot; now he was an only son among five sisters. So spake he then a word to the Trojans and to Hector: [promising that he would go and spy out all the schemings of the Achæans, if he were promised the horses and chariot of Achilles].

And Hector took the staff in his hand and swore to him: "Now let Zeus himself be witness, and the loud-thundering lord of Hera, that no other man of Troy shall mount those horses, but thou, I declare, shalt rejoice in them forever."

So spake he and swore a bootless oath thereto, and aroused Dolon to go. And straightway he cast on his shoulders his

crooked bow, and did on thereover the skin of a gray wolf, and on his head a helm of ferret skin, and took a sharp javelin, and went on his way to the ships from the host. But he was not like to come back from the ships and bring word to Hector.

Now when he had left the throng of men and horses, he went forth eagerly on the way, and Odysseus . . . was ware of him as he approached, and said unto Diomedes [that here was a spy, whom they would follow stealthily and capture]. . . .

So turning out of the path they lay down among the bodies of the dead: and swiftly Dolon ran past them in his witlessness. But when he was as far off as the length of a furrow made by mules — for they are better by far than kine, to drag the jointed plow through the deep fallow — the twain ran after him, and he stood still when he heard the sound, supposing in his heart they were friends come from the Trojans to turn him back at the countermand of Hector. But when they were about a spear cast off, or even less, he knew them for foemen, and stirred his swift limbs to fly, and speedily they started in pursuit.

And as when two sharp-toothed hounds well skilled in the chase press ever hard on a doe or a hare through a wooded land, and it runs screaming before them, even so Tydeus's son [Diomedes] and Odysseus, the sacker of cities, cut Dolon off from the host and ever pursued after him. . . . [Then Diomedes cast his spear], but of his own will he missed the man, and passing over his right shoulder the point of the polished spear stuck fast in the ground, and Dolon stood in great dread and trembling, and the teeth chattered in his mouth, and he was green with fear. Then the twain came to him panting and gripped his hands, and weeping he spake, "Take me alive, and I will ransom myself, for within our house is bronze and gold and smithied iron. . . ."

[Then Odysseus guilefully told him "not to think of death," but to confess why he had come, and Dolon weeping confessed his purpose, and revealed to the questioners how all the host of the Trojans lay encamped: but when he was finished] strong Diomedes, looking grimly on him, said, "Put no thought of escape, Dolon, in thine heart for all the good tidings thou hast brought, once you have come into our hands. For if now we release you or let you go, on some later day you will come to the swift ships of the Achæans, either to play the spy or fight in open war, but if subdued beneath my hands you lose your life, never again will you prove a bane to the Argives."

He spake, and that other with strong hand was about to touch his chin, and implore his mercy, but Diomedes smote him in the midst of the neck, rushing on him with the sword, and cut through both sinews, and the head of him still speaking was mingled in the dust. And they stripped him of the casque . . . and of his wolfskin, and his bended bow, and his long spear: and these to Athenē the Giver of Spoil did noble Odysseus hold aloft in his hand, and he prayed, saying, "Rejoice, O Goddess, in these, for to thee first of all the Immortals in Olympus will we call for aid; nay, but yet again send us on against the horses and the sleeping places of the men of Thrace!"

35. The Shield of Achilles

"The Iliad," book XVIII, ll. 479–610 passim. Adapted from Lang, Leaf, and Myers' Translation

The following passage from the "Iliad" is famous beyond most portions of the great poem for its informational value. It would have indeed taken a god to have wrought all the scenes mentioned herein, upon any battle shield; but as a succession of pictures of what the bard conceived to be typical situations in the society of his age this description is unsurpassed. It is as if a series of bril-

liant photographs of the life of three thousand years ago were submitted to us for patient, careful study. The passage itself calls for little preliminary comment. The shield is of course assumed to be made in the workshop of Hephæstos the Fire God, whither Thetis, mother of Achilles, has resorted, seeking a new suit of armor for her redoubtable son.

And first Hephæstos fashioned a shield great and strong, adorning it all over, and set thereto a shining rim, triple, bright-glancing, and therefrom a silver baldric.

There wrought he the earth, and the heavens and the sea, and the unwearying sun, and the moon waxing to the full, and the signs every one wherewith the heavens are crowned, Pleiads and Hyads and Orion's might, and the Bear which men call also the Wain, her that turneth in her place and watcheth Orion, and alone hath no part in the baths of Ocean.[1]

The City at Peace

Therein too he fashioned two fair cities. In the one were espousals and marriage feasts: and beneath the torch-light they were leading the brides from their chambers through the city, while the bridal song rose loud. And young men were whirling in the dance, and among them flutes and viols sounded high: and women standing each at her door were admiring. But the [older] folk were gathered at the assembly place: for a strife was arisen, two men contending about the blood ransom of a man slain. The one avowed he had paid all, but the other denied he had received anything, and each trusted to his witness to prove his cause. And the people were cheering on both as they took either side. And heralds kept order among the folk, while the elders were sitting on polished stones in the sacred circle, and holding in their hands staves given them

[1] This enumeration gives a very fair idea of the extent of Homeric astronomy.

by the loud-voiced heralds.[1] Then before the folk they rose and gave each man in turn his judgment. And in the midst lay two talents of gold, to fall to him who should plead among them most righteously.

The City at War

But round about the other city were two armies in siege with glittering arms. Their counsels were divided, either to sack the town, or to share all with the townsfolk [in way of ransom] whatsoever wealth the fair city held. But the besieged were not yielding, but were arming for an ambush: while on their walls to guard stood their dear wives and children, and with these the old men. [So they laid their ambush at the river, whither were driven the besiegers' cattle trains.] But the besiegers, as they sat [at council] before the pulpits [whence the orators spoke] heard much din among the oxen. Forthwith they mounted [their chariots] behind their high-stepping horses, and came up with speed. Then they arrayed their battle and fought beside the river banks, and smote one another with bronze-shod spears.

The Farmstead Scenes

Likewise he set in the shield a soft fresh-plowed field, rich tilth and wide, the third time plowed: and many plowers therein drove their yokes to and fro as they wheeled about. Whensoever they came to the boundary of the field and turned, then would a man come to each and give into his hands a goblet of sweet wine, while others would be turning back along the furrows, anxious to reach the boundary of the deep tilth. And the field grew black behind them.

Furthermore he set therein a domain land deep in corn,

[1] They were given staves seemingly as a kind of token that they were entitled to sit in the council.

where hinds were reaping with sharp sickles. Some armfuls were falling in rows to the earth along the swath, while others the sheaf-binders were binding in twisted bands of straw. Three sheaf-binders stood over them, while behind boys gathering corn and bearing it in their arms gave it constantly to the binders; and among them the lord was standing silently at the swath leaning on his staff and rejoicing in his heart. And henchmen apart beneath an oak were preparing a feast, with a great ox they had sacrificed: while the women were strewing much barley to make the workers' supper.

The Vintage Scene

Also he set therein a vineyard teeming plenteously with clusters: and one single pathway led to it, whereby the vintagers might go when they should gather the vintage. Here maidens and striplings in childish glee bare the sweet fruit in plaited baskets. And in the midst of them a boy made pleasant music on a clear-toned viol, and sang thereto a sweet Linos-song[1] with delicate voice; while the rest with feet falling together kept time with music and with song.

Also the glorious lame god wrought therein a pasture in a fair glen, a great pasture of white sheep, and a stable and roofed huts and folds.

The Scene from Crete

Also did he devise a dancing place like unto the one which once, in wide Cnossos, Dædalus wrought for Ariadne of the lovely tresses. There were youths dancing and maidens of costly wooing, their hands on one another's wrists. Fine linen the maidens had on, and the youths well-woven doublets faintly glistening with oil. Fair wreaths had the maidens, and the youths daggers of gold hanging from silver

[1] Probably a lament for the dying summer.

baldrics. And now they would run around with deft feet exceeding lightly, as when a potter sitting by his wheel maketh trial of it whether it run; and now anon they would run in lines to meet one another. And a great company stood around the lovely dance in joy; and among them a divine minstrel was making music on his lyre, and through the midst of them, as he began his strain, two tumblers whirled.

36. Odysseus's Opinion as to Married Happiness

"The Odyssey," book VI, ll. 180–185, Butcher and Lang's Translation

How, despite the barbarities of its warfare and manifold other evidences that civilization in the Homeric age was very young, a beautiful family life was possible, is well illustrated by the following fair wish addressed by Odysseus to his preserver, the high-minded Phæacian maiden, Nausicäa.

And may the Gods grant thee all thy heart's desires: — a husband and a home, and a mind at one with his may they give, — a good gift, for *there is nothing mightier and nobler than when man and wife are of one heart* and mind in a house; — a grief to their foes, and to their friends great joy; but their own hearts know it the best.

37. The Palace of Menelaus at Sparta

"The Odyssey," book IV, ll. 1 ff., Butcher and Lang's Translation

At Sparta Telemachus, son of Odysseus, found King Menelaus inhabiting a palace far more magnificent than the paternal one at Ithaca. What the Homeric bard conceived an ideal royal house should be, and how he deemed noble guests ought to be received, is here set forth. Note (1) the prevalence of princely hospitality; (2) that the sum of all worldly goods seemed to be a magnificent feast.

[Telemachus goes on a journey to Menelaus, king of Lacedæmon, to see if he can get any news of his father Odysseus.]

They came to Lacedæmon, low lying amongst the caverned hills, and drove to the palace of famous Menelaus. Him they found giving a feast to his many kin, in honor of the wedding of his noble son and daughter [the daughter to the son of Achilles, the son to the daughter of Alector]. . . . Thus feasting through the great vaulted hall, the neighbors and kinsmen of Menelaus were making merry.

Meanwhile these twain, Telemachus and the splendid son of Nestor [his escort], made halt at the entry of the gate, they and their horses. And the lord Eteonus came forth and saw them, the ready squire of renowned Menelaus: he went through the palace to bear the tidings to the shepherd of the people, and standing near spake to him winged words.

"Menelaus, fosterling of Zeus,[1] here are two strangers . . . two men like to the lineage of great Zeus himself. Say, shall we loose their swift horses from under the yoke, or send them onward to some other host who shall receive them kindly?"

Then sore displeased answered him fair-haired Menelaus, "Eteonus [now thou talkest folly . . .]. Surely we ourselves ate much hospitable cheer of other men, ere we twain came hither, even if in time to come Zeus haply give us rest from harm. Nay, go, unyoke the horses of the strangers, and as for the men, lead them forward to the house to feast with us."

So spake he, and Eteonus hasted from the hall, and called the other ready squires to follow him. So they loosed the sweating horses from beneath the yoke, and fastened them at the stalls of the horses, and threw beside them spelt, and therewith mixed white barley, then tilted the chariot up against the shining faces of the gateway, and led the men into the lordly hall. And they beheld and marveled as they gazed throughout the palace of the king, the fosterling of

[1] Note how a Homeric king would claim divine lineage.

Zeus: for there was a gleam as of the sun or moon through the lofty palace of renowned Menelaus. But after they had gazed their fill, they went to the polished baths and bathed. And when the maids had bathed them and anointed them with olive oil and put on them fleecy cloaks and doublets, they sat on chairs by Menelaus son of Atreus [and joined in the feasting . . .]. So Menelaus of the fair hair greeted the twain and spake: "Break bread and be glad, and thereafter when ye have supped, we will ask what men ye are: for the blood of your parents is not lost in you, but years of the line of men that are sceptered kings, the fosterlings of Zeus; for no churls could beget sons like you."

So spake he, and took and set before them the fat ox-chine roasted, which they had given him as his own mess by way of honor. And they stretched forth their hands upon the good cheer set before them. Now when they had put from them the desire of meat and drink, Telemachus spake to the son of Nestor, holding his head close to him, so that the others might not hear.

"Son of Nestor, delight of my heart, mark the flashing of bronze through the echoing halls, and the flashing of gold and of amber, and of silver and of ivory. Such like, methinks, is the court of Olympian Zeus within, for the world of things that are here: wonder comes over me as I look thereon."

[Whereupon Menelaus, overhearing, relates by what sore trials he came by all this wealth and glory.]

38. A Farm Laborer in Homeric Times

"The Odyssey," book XVIII, ll. 350 ff. Adapted from Butcher and Lang's Translation

In the Homeric age most of the field and house labor was performed by bondsmen whose condition, however, does not seem to have been very miserable. Free laborers, however, working for a

hire in kind were not unknown, — but they were a despised class, and only theoretically superior to the bondsmen. Note incidentally that manual labor, especially on the farm, was not held degrading to men of high rank. It was no insult to challenge Eurymachus to a plowing contest.

[Eurymachus, an intruder into Odysseus's home and a suitor for his wife Penelope, ridicules Odysseus, who has returned disguised as a beggar.]

Jeering he spoke to his friends: "Not without the gods' pleasure has this fellow come hither to Odysseus's house — at least the torchlight verily flares forth from that head of his, for there are no hairs however thin upon it."

Then he spoke, addressing Odysseus, waster of cities: "Stranger, would you be my hired worker? Then I might take you for my man upon my upland farm, — and there you could gather stones for walls and set out tall trees. I would give you steady ration, and provide clothing, likewise shoes for your feet. However, since you are practiced only in rascality, you will not care to go and toil in the field, but will choose rather to go louting it through the land, that you may have wherewithal to feed your ever-hungry belly."

Then Odysseus of many counsels answering him, said, "Eurymachus, I wish there might be a trial of labor betwixt us two, in the spring season when the long days begin. It should be in the deep grass, and I ought to have a crooked scythe and you another like it that we might try each other in the matter of labor, pushing clear until late eventide, and grass there should be in plenty. Or would again that there were oxen to drive, the very best that there are, large tawny ones, of equal age and strength to bear the yoke and endurance untiring! And it should be a field four acres large, with soil to take the plow. *Then* you should see me, whether I would cut a clean furrow unbroken before me, or no! Or would that this very day Zeus might waken war whencesoever he would, and that I had a shield, two spears,

and a helm of bronze, well fitting on my temples: then you would see me mingling in the forefront of the battle and you would not taunt me with this my belly!"

39. Hesiod's Advice to Farmers

Hesiod's "Works and Days," ll. 380 ff., Bohn translation

The extracts from Hesiod which follow are upon matters which a later age would cast in prose, not poetry. Under the guise of divers admonitions to his unjust and slothful brother Perses, the old bard of Bœotia has succeeded in preparing what we may call the first text book ever produced in a European language. The duty of hard work was never taught more industriously than by Hesiod, and through all his poems run evidences of the sullen discontent felt in even his early century by the toiling "masses" against the lordly "classes." Hesiod has no gospel of revolution to preach: he simply sets forth the misery of the sluggard, and the relative happiness of the industrious. The instructions given in his poems often contain much shrewdness, and no doubt in their day represented high worldly wisdom. The first extract here given is typical of his precepts for farmers; the second gives some hints of the problems of the early sea traders.

When the Pleiads, born of Atlas, rise, begin thy harvest; but thy plowing begin only when they set. Now these, mark thee, are hidden for forty nights and days, and again in the revolving years they appear first when the sickle is sharpened. . . . This truly is the law of the fields, as well as for them who dwell near the sea, as those who inhabit the wooded valleys, a fertile soil, afar from the swelling sea. Sow stripped, plow stripped, and work stripped, if thou wouldst gather the works of Demeter, all in their seasons, so that each may grow for thee in due time, lest in anywise, — brought to want while awaiting them, — thou must go begging to other men's houses, and so come to nothing. As e'en now thou (my brother) hast come to me, — but I will not add more [woes] to thee, nor measure out work in addition:

therefore work, foolish Perses: toil at the works which the gods have destined for mortals, lest ever with children and wife grieving thine heart, thou shouldest seek thy substance among neighbors, and they should cast thee off. . . . I urge thee then to study how to pay thy debts and to avoid hunger. First of all [to be a successful farmer] get a house, a wife, and a plowing ox.[1]. . . [The wife] will tend thy cattle, and thy needful farm implements, lest if thou wouldest borrow from another he may refuse to give them, and thou wouldest for lack of them be deprived of thy harvest when the season is over. Put not off (thy toil) till the morrow or the day after, for it is not the sluggish man or the putter-off, who fills up his garner: but diligence increases the fruit of toil. A dilatory man ever wrestles with losses.

When the first season of plowing has appeared to mortals, then do thou rouse thyself, thy servants too, and plow during the season, whether dry or wet, hasting right early, so that thy corn lands be full. Turn up the soil in the spring, and the ground fresh-tilled will not in the summer mock thy hopes: and sow thy fallow land while yet (the soil) is light. Fallow land is a guardian from death and ruin, and a soother of children. Make vows too unto Zeus the Infernal (Pluto) and to chaste Demeter, that they may load the ripe holy seed corn of Demeter. . . . [Plow carefully and] let the servant boy behind, carrying a mattock, cause sorrow for the birds while he covers up the seed. For good management is best for mortals, and surely bad management is worst. Thus, if the Lord of Olympus afterward gives a prosperous end, will the ears bend to the earth with fullness, and thou wilt drive the cobwebs from the bins, and I trust thou wilt rejoice, taking for thyself the substance stored up within. So wilt thou come in plenty to [the winter].

[1] Note how these things are lumped together. There was no sentiment among the agriculturalists of early Bœotia.

Hesiod's Advice on Navigation. (*"Works and Days'" ln. 643.*)

Commend a small ship, on a large one stow thy freight. Greater will then be thy cargo, and greater thy gain upon gain, at least if the winds keep from evil blasts. When thou shalt have turned thy mind towards merchandise and desired to escape debts and grievous hunger [as a farmer], then will I show thee the courses of the loud-roaring sea. . . . For fifty days after the summer solstice, when summer the time of hard work has ended, sailing is seasonable for mortals. Then your ship is not likely to founder, nor the sea to destroy its crew, unless with fell intent, earth-shaking Poseidon, or Zeus, King of Immortals, should will their destruction, for with them is the destiny of good and bad alike. At that season the breezes are clear, and the deep free from danger. Then in security, relying on the winds, drag your swift ship down to the sea, and stow in it all the cargo: but haste at full speed home again, — wait not for the [time of the] new wine, the autumn rain, the coming winter, and the direful blasts of the South wind, which is then wont to disturb the sea, following Zeus's copious rains in the autumn, and making the deep perilous.

CHAPTER V

THE EARLY CENTURIES OF HISTORIC GREECE

With the passing of the Homeric Age we come by insensible transitions into a period where authentic historical records begin to exist. We need no longer study a "civilization" merely, but the actual annals of the city states (*poleis*) of Greece. Genuine personalities, poets, warriors, lawgivers, loom before us with increasing clearness. We get a number of chapters out of Herodotus, wherein the "Father of History" throws a most fascinating light upon the events of the two centuries preceding his own. Again we can use the writings of such authors as Strabo and Plutarch, who lived, indeed, in the later Roman age, but who were able to compile accurate information from sources now quite lost to us.

The whole Greek civilization, it should be remembered, was a civilization of small cities, perhaps, on an average, with a population of not over five to twenty thousand. Only Athens, Sparta, and a few other communities would be larger. In such narrow surroundings, life gained in intensity what it lost in variety. Politics were hot, fierce, personal. Patriotism was a thing very local indeed. At first there is seemingly no cohesive principle among the scattered, often warring, Greek *poleis*. Then gradually certain factors of unity come into play: the Pan-Hellenic games, the Delphic oracle, and especially the colonizing movement, — which, by bringing the Greeks into contact with downright aliens, taught them their own essential unity. Also the spread of the power of certain great states, especially of Sparta, makes the Greeks conscious of a common nationality. Most of these significant factors are illustrated in the extracts presented; while other extracts are intended to show how, while other communities were seemingly far more aggressive, Athens was undergoing a course of development which was to enable her to make the next age of Greek history peculiarly her own.

40. An Early Hymn to Apollo

Part of the "Homeric Hymn to Apollo." Adapted from Buckley's Translation

The cult of Apollo at the tiny isle of Delos was extremely ancient. At the festival held there by the Ionians, there were musical and gymnastic contests, as at Olympia. The hymn which is here in part given dates perhaps from about 600 B.C., and was one of a cycle of hymns called Homeric, as produced by bards claiming to imitate Homer. As the worship of Apollo developed, a conception of moral nobility and righteousness associated itself with the god — unlike the earlier stories; but this elevation is more evident in dealing with Apollo of Delphi than Apollo of Delos.

[After King Apollo had been born of Leto, at the tiny isle of Delos and had made it his shrine,] then all Delos became heavy with gold, beholding the offspring of Zeus and Leto, rejoicing because the god had chosen it out of the islands and mainland, to settle therein his dwelling, and had loved it exceedingly. So it did flourish, even as when the crest of a hill rejoices with the woodland foliage. But thou, O Lord of the Silver Bow, far-darting King Apollo, sometimes dost thou also walk on rocky Cynthus, and sometimes dost thou haste away to the [other] isles and their island dwellers. Thine are full many temples and leafy groves; all the craggy rocks are dear to thee, dear too are the towering summits of the hills and the ocean-flowing rivers. Yet, O Phœbus, is thy heart's delight still at Delos: there the Ionians in their training robes gather to honor thee; they, their children, and their stately wives. Mindful of thee, they delight thee [with games], — boxing, dancing, and the song when the contest joins. A man would say [on beholding them] that they were immortal, yea, ageless, these Ionians, who are gathered before thy temple. For he would see how they all take pleasure: and would have delight in his mind, beholding alike the men and their fair-zoned

women, likewise their swift ships, and their abounding wealth.

Besides these, O marvel, come the Delian girls, the glory whereof shall never perish, they the servants of the Far Darter, who when they have first chanted Apollo in their hymns, and then Leto, and Artemis, whose joy is in her archery, sing a [choral] hymn, and delight the multitude of men. Well do they know how to imitate the voices and tones of all men: yea, every man present would say that he himself was speaking, so beautiful is the song they weave.

Hail then to you, O Leto, O Apollo, O Artemis: hail to you each and all: . . . and never will I [the bard] cease to hymn the praise of far-darting Apollo of the Silver Bow: the child of the fair-haired Leto!

41. How Glaucus tried to tempt the Delphic Oracle

Herodotus, book VI, chaps. 86, 87. Rawlinson's Translation

The high standard of personal righteousness upheld by the priests of the Delphic Apollo is illustrated by this story, which makes the god take a far sterner view of human treachery than the lax and unmoral deities of the Homeric Age. Apollo of Delphi hardly less than Jehovah of Israel was not lightly to be tempted!

The story goes that there lived in Lacedæmon [about 600 B.C.] one Glaucus, son of Epicydes . . . whose character for justice was such as to place him above all other Spartans. . . . Now there came a certain Milesian to Sparta, and [deposited a large quantity of silver with him to keep safe until some authorized person should come to demand it] "since," he said, "I am well assured it will be safe in thy keeping" . . . So Glaucus took the deposit on the terms given. Many years had gone by when the sons of the man by whom the money had been left came to Sparta, and

had an interview with Glaucus, whereat they produced their vouchers, and asked to have the money returned to them. But Glaucus sought to refuse, and answered them, "I have no recollection of the matter: nor can I bring to mind any of the particulars whereof you speak, when I remember I will certainly do what is just. If I had the money you have a right to receive it back: but if it was never given me, I shall put the Greek law in force against you.[1] At present I give no answer: but four months hence I will settle the business."

So the Milesians went away sorrowful, considering the money wholly lost to them. As for Glaucus, he made a journey to Delphi, and there consulted the oracle. To his question if he should swear [away the debt], and so make prize of the money, the Pythoness returned for answer these lines following: —

"Best for the present it were, O Glaucus, to do as thou wishest,
Swearing the oath to prevail, and so make prize of the money.
Swear then — death is the lot e'en of those who never swear falsely.
Yet hath the Oath-God a son who is nameless and footless and handless;
Mighty in strength he approaches to vengeance, and whelms in destruction
All who belong to the race or the house of the man who is perjured.
But oath-keeping men leave behind them a flourishing offspring."

Glaucus when he heard these words earnestly besought the god to pardon his question, but the Pythoness replied that *it was as bad to have tempted the god as it would have been to have done the deed.* Glaucus, however, sent for the Milesian strangers and gave them back their money . . . [Nevertheless] Glaucus [three generations later] had not a single descendant; nor is there any family known as his — root and branch has he been removed from Sparta.

[1] *i.e.* clear himself by taking oath that the claim was false.

42. Crœsus and the Delphic Oracle

Herodotus, book I, chaps. 46-56. Rawlinson's Translation

The story here given of how Crœsus the Lydian consulted the Delphic oracle before the collision with Persia is another of Herodotus's peculiarly interesting stories.

Note: (1) how the influence of Delphi had spread from Hellas into Lydia; (2) how cleverly the oracle covered its tracks in case of an issue unfavorable to Crœsus.

At the end of this time the grief of Crœsus was interrupted by intelligence from abroad. He learnt that Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, had destroyed the empire of Astyages, the son of Cyaxares; and that the Persians were becoming daily more powerful. This led him to consider with himself whether it were possible to check the growing power of that people before it came to a head. With this design he resolved to make instant trial of the several oracles in Greece, and of the one in Libya. So he sent his messenger in different directions, some to Delphi, some to Abæ in Phocis, and some to Dodôna; others to the oracle of Amphiaraüs; others to that of Trophonius; others again to that of Branchidæ in Milesia. These were the Greek oracles which he consulted. To Libya he sent another embassy, to consult the oracle of Ammon. These messengers were sent to test the knowledge of the oracles, that, if they were found really to return true answers, he might send a second time, and inquire if he ought to attack the Persians.

[According to the story, the Delphic Oracle and the oracle of Amphiaraüs were the only two which convinced Crœsus that they spoke truly.]

After this Crœsus having resolved to propitiate the Delphic god with a magnificent sacrifice, offered up three thousand of every kind of sacrificial beast, and besides made

a huge pile and placed upon it couches covered with silver and with gold, and golden goblets, and robes and vests of purple: all which he burnt in hope of thereby making himself more secure of the god's favor. Further he issued his orders to all his people to offer a sacrifice according to their means.

[In addition to this Crœsus took a treasure of gold and silver and sent it to Delphi and another to the shrine of Amphiaraüs in Bœotia near Thebes.]

The messenger who had charge of conveying these treasures to the shrines, received instructions to ask the oracles whether Crœsus should go to war with the Persians, and if so, whether he should strengthen himself by the forces of an ally. Accordingly, when they had reached their destinations and presented the gifts, they proceeded to consult the oracles in the following terms: "Crœsus, king of Lydia and other countries, believing that these are the only real oracles in all the world, has sent you such presents as your discoveries deserved, and now inquires of you whether he shall go to war with the Persians, and if so, whether he shall strengthen himself by the forces of a confederate." Both the oracles agreed in the tenor of their reply, which was in each case a prophecy that *if Crœsus attacked the Persians, he would destroy a mighty empire*, and a recommendation to him to look and see who were the most powerful of the Greeks, and to make alliance with them.

At the receipt of these oracular replies Crœsus was overjoyed, and feeling sure now that he would destroy the empire of the Persians, he sent once more to Pytho, and presented to the Delphians, the number of whom he had ascertained, two gold staters apiece. In return for this the Delphians granted to Crœsus and the Lydians the privilege of precedency in consulting the oracle, exemption from all charges, the most honorable seat at the festivals, and the

perpetual right of becoming at pleasure citizens of their town.

After sending those presents to the Delphians, Crœsus a third time consulted the oracle; for having once proved its truthfulness, he wished to make constant use of it. The question whereto he now desired an answer was — "Whether his kingdom would be of long duration?" The following was the reply of the Pythoness:—

"Wait till the time shall come when a mule is monarch of Media;
Then, thou delicate Lydian, away to the pebbles of Hermus:
Haste, oh, haste thee away, nor blush to behave like a coward."

Of all the answers that had reached him, this pleased him far the best, for it seemed incredible that a mule should ever come to be king of the Medes, and so he concluded that the sovereignty would never depart from himself or his seed after him.

[Thus encouraged, Crœsus went to war, little thinking that Cyrus his enemy was that "mule" — having a Persian father and a Median mother. As a result he was overthrown and captured, and his kingdom annexed to Persia, but the oracle — if the story is to be believed — was vindicated, the "mighty empire" which he had destroyed being his own.]

43. Delphi and the Amphictyons

Strabo, "Geography," book IX, chap. 3, ¶ I. Bohn Translation

The best description which we have of the shrine of Apollo at Delphi, its location, and of the "Amphictyonic Council" that had watch over it, is given by Strabo. He wrote about the beginning of the first century A.D., but in his time the traditions, and to some extent the actual customs, of ancient Delphi were well preserved. It is needless to point out how the support of a common shrine and cultus like this made for the growth of a sense of unity among the Hellenes.

The whole of [Mount] Parnassus is esteemed sacred. It contains caves and other places which are regarded with honor and reverence. Of these the most celebrated and the most beautiful is Corycian, a cave of the nymphs. . . . The two most celebrated cities in this country are Delphi and Elateia. Delphi is renowned for the temple of the Pythian Apollo, and the antiquity of its oracle, since Agamemnon is said by the poet to have consulted it, for the minstrel is introduced singing of the "fierce contest of Odysseus and Achilles, son of Peleus, how once they contended together, and Agamemnon, king of men, was pleased, for so Phœbus Apollo had foretold by the oracle in the illustrious Pytho."[1]

Delphi then was celebrated on this account. Elateia was famous as being the largest of the cities in this quarter, and for its very convenient position upon the passes [in the hills], for he who is the master of this city commands the entrance into Phocis and Bœotia. We have noticed that Parnassus itself is situated on the western boundaries of Phocis. The western side of this mountain is occupied by the Locri Ozolæ, on the southern is Delphi, a rocky spot, in shape like to a theater: on its summit is an oracle, and also the city which comprehends a circuit of sixteen stadia [something over one and a half miles]. Above it lies Lycoreia; here the Delphians were formerly settled above the temple. At present[2] they live close to it around the fountain of Castalia. In front of the city, on the southern part is Cirphis, a precipitous hill, leaving in the intermediate space a wooded ravine, through which flows the river Pleistus. Below Cirphis near the sea is Cirrha, an ancient city whence there is an ascent to Delphi of about eighty stadia [over eight miles]. . . . Adjoining Cirrha is the fertile Crisæan plain. Next in order follows another city, Crisa. [These cities are in ruins;

[1] "Odyssey," book VIII, 75 ff.

[2] Strabo is writing in the Roman Age: he probably died in 19 A.D.

the Crisæans destroyed Cirrha; and later Crisa was destroyed in 595 B.C. in the "Crisæan War" — waged by the Amphictyonic League, — because the inhabitants levied duties on imports from Sicily and Italy, and laid] grievous imposts on those who resorted to the temple, contrary to the decrees of the Amphictyons. . . .

The Temple at Delphi and the Pythoness

The temple at Delphi is now [in the writer's day] much neglected, although formerly held in the highest veneration. Proof of the respect which was paid to it is seen in the treasure houses, built at the expense of communities and princes where were deposited the riches dedicated to sacred ends, [and here, too, are] the works of most eminent artists, the site of the Pythian games, as well as a multitude of famous oracles.

The place where the oracle [of Apollo] is delivered is said to be a deep hollow cavern, the entrance whereof is not very wide. From it rises an exhalation which inspires a divine frenzy. Over the mouth [of the cavern] is placed a lofty tripod on which the Pythoness ascends to receive the exhalation, after which she gives the prophetic responses in verse or prose. The prose is adapted to measure by poets who are in the service of the temple.

Although the highest honor is paid to this temple on account of the oracle, for it was the most exempt of any from deception, yet its reputation was in part due to its situation in the center of all Hellas, both within and without the Isthmus [of Corinth]. It was also conceived to be the center of the habitable earth, and was called the "Navel of the World." A fable referred to by Pindar, was invented, according to which two eagles (or as others say two crows) set free by Zeus, one from the east, and one from the west, alighted together at Delphi. In the triangle is seen a sort of navel wrapped in bands, and surmounted by figures representing the birds of the fable.

The Amphictyonic Council

As the situation of Delphi is convenient, persons easily assembled there, particularly those from the neighboring region, from which the Amphictyonic Council is drawn. It is the business of this body to deliberate on public affairs, but more especially is intrusted to it the guardianship of the temple for the common good: for large sums of money were deposited there, and votive offerings, which required great vigilance and religious care. The early history of this body is unknown, but among the names which are recorded Acrisius [a mythical king of Argos] appears [by tradition] to have been the first who regulated its constitution, determined what cities should have votes in the council, and assigned the number of votes and the mode of voting. To some cities he gave a single vote each, or a vote to two cities, or to several cities conjointly. He also defined the class of questions which might arise between the several cities, which were to be submitted to the decision of the Amphictyonic tribunal; and subsequently many other regulations were made. . . . At first twelve cities are said to have assembled, each of which sent a "Pylagoras." The convention met twice per year, in spring and in autumn. But latterly a greater number of cities sent deputies. They called both the spring and the autumn meetings "Pylæan," because they met at Pylæ [*i.e.* "The Gates" in the mountains] which is also the name of Thermopylæ [The "Hot Gates"]. The Pylagoræ sacrificed to Demeter.

In the beginning only the people of the district gathered, or consulted the oracle: but afterward people resorted thither from a distance for this very end, and sent gifts and constructed treasure houses, as did Crœsus [king of Lydia] and his father Alyattes, also some Italians, and the Siceli [native Sicilians].

44. A Description of Olympia in the Days of its Glory

Pausanias, book V, chap. VII ff. Frazer's Translation, considerably abridged

What Olympia was in the days of its glory may be judged by the following description by Pausanias, who visited the spot in the second century A.D. In his age all the famous buildings were still intact, the games were maintained in the spirit of the old traditions, and the signs of decadence at least were unmarked. As he himself indicates, the games were once vastly simpler affairs than in the later days. At first they probably attracted the folk of the neighboring parts of the Peloponnesus merely: and very likely it was not until the sixth century B.C. that they began to be frequented by athletes from all parts of Hellas, or to be visited by the hardly less characteristic "Religious Embassies" sent by the several city-states to show forth their wealth and elegance under the guise of bringing offerings to Olympian Zeus.

In the final part of this extract is a striking description of the renowned statue of Zeus, the masterpiece of Phidias, the great Athenian sculptor of the fifth century B.C. It should be remembered, however, that Olympia had been a famous center for centuries before this wonder was created.

On reaching Olympia you see at last the waters of the Alpheus, a broad and noble stream, fed by seven important rivers, not to speak of lesser tributaries.

With regard to the Olympic games, the Elean antiquaries say that Cronos first reigned in heaven, and that a temple was made for him at Olympia by the men of that age, who were named the "Golden Race." But when Zeus was born, Rhea committed the safe-keeping of the child to the Dactyls, who came from Ida in Crete, — and their names were Heracles, Pæonæus, Epimenes, Iasius, and Idas. Then in sport Heracles, as the eldest, set his brethren to run a race, and crowned the victor with a branch of wild olive, of which they had such abundance that they slept on its fresh green

leaves. They say that the wild olive was brought to Greece by Heracles from the land of the Hyperboreans. He made the rule that the games should be celebrated every fourth year. Some say that Zeus wrestled here with Cronos for the kingdom, others that Zeus held the games in honor of his victory over Cronos. Amongst those who are said to have gained victories is Apollo, who is declared to have outrun Hermes in a race, and defeated Ares in boxing. That is why the flutes play the Pythian air [sacred to Apollo], while the competitors in the pentathlum[1] are leaping, because that air is sacred to Apollo, and the god himself had won Olympic crowns.

[After a long tradition of contests in which gods and heroes were the main participants] Iphitus "renewed" the games,[2] and people had forgotten the ancient customs, and they only gradually "remembered" them, and as they remembered them piece by piece, they added them to the games. At the point where the unbroken tradition of the Olympiads begins, there were only prizes for the foot race, and Coræbus the Elean won the first race. Afterward in the fourteenth Olympiad (724–720 B.C.) the double-circuit foot race was added, and Hypenus, a Pisan, won the wild olive crown in it. In the eighteenth they "remembered" the pentathlum and the wrestling. In the twenty-third Olympiad they "restored" the prizes for boxing. In the twenty-fifth they admitted the race for grown horses, in four horse chariots. Eight Olympiads later they admitted the pancratium[3] for men, and the (single) horse race. The origin of the competitions for boys, however, is not traced

[1] A contest combining running, discus hurling, leaping, javelin casting, and wrestling ; won by the athlete conquering in the most events.

[2] From the statement following it is clear enough that the games were then begun about this time (776 B.C.) and were only very gradually brought to their later elaboration.

[3] A combination of wrestling and boxing; it was among the most brutal of all the Greek sports.

to any ancient tradition; they were introduced by a resolution of the Eleans [who presided over and controlled the general policy of the games]. Prizes for boys in running and wrestling were instituted in the thirty-seventh Olympiad; in the forty-first they introduced boxing for boys. The race between men in armor was sanctioned in the sixty-fifth Olympiad, for the purpose, I presume, of training men in war. The race between pairs of full-grown horses was instituted in the ninety-third. In the ninety-ninth they began the chariot races between cars each drawn by four foals. In the hundred and forty-fifth Olympiad prizes were offered for boys in the pancratium.

[A number of contests, *e.g.* between mule carts, were tried for a while, then given up.] As for the mule-cart race it had neither dignity nor antiquity to commend it, and the carts were drawn by mules, and an ancient curse rests on the people of Elis if ever the animal is born in their land.

The present rules as to the presidents of games are not what they were originally. Iphitus [the founder] presided over the games, and after him, the descendants of Oxylus did likewise. But in the fiftieth Olympiad two men, selected by lot from the whole body of the Eleans, were intrusted with the presidency of the festival, and for a long time two was the number of the presidents. However, in the twenty-fifth Olympiad nine umpires were appointed, three to take care of the chariot race, three for the pentathlum [a very important contest] and three to take charge of the other contests. In the next Olympiad but one a tenth umpire was added. In the hundred and third Olympiad the Eleans were divided into twelve tribes, and one umpire was taken from each of the twelve. In the hundred and eighth they reverted to the number ten, and so it has remained ever since.

The temple and image of Zeus here were made from the booty at the time the Eleans conquered Pisa and the vassal

states that revolted with her. That the image was made by Phidias is attested by the inscription under the feet of Zeus: —

"Phidias, Charmides's son, an Athenian made me."

The god is seated on a throne, he is made of gold and ivory, on his head is a wreath made in imitation of the sprays of olive. In his right hand he carries a Nike (Victory), also of ivory and gold; she wears a ribbon, and on her head is a wreath. In the left hand of the god is a scepter curiously wrought in all the metals; the bird perched on the scepter is an eagle. The sandals of the god are of gold, and so is his robe. On the robe are wrought figures of animals and lily flowers. The throne is adorned with gold and precious stones, also with ebony and ivory; and there are figures painted, and images wrought on it. There are four Victories in the attitude of dancing at each foot of the throne, and two others at the bottom of each foot. [Then follows much detail about the mythological characters represented by Phidias on the foot of the throne or about it.]

I know that measurements of the height and breadth of the Zeus of Olympia have been recorded, but I cannot praise the men who took them. For even the measurements fall far short of the impression made by the image upon the spectator. Verily the god himself, they say, bore witness to the art of Phidias. For when the image was completed Phidias prayed that the god would give a sign if the work were to his mind, and immediately, they say, Zeus hurled a thunderbolt into the ground at the spot where a bronze urn stood at the time of my visit.

The ground in front of the image is flagged not with white but with black stone. Round about the black pavement runs a raised edge of Parian marble, to keep in the olive oil that is poured out. For oil is good for the image of Olympia, and it is this which keeps it from suffering through the marshy situation of the Altis [the sacred grove].

45. Teachings of the Early Greek Sages upon Religion and Morality

Collected in Felton, "Ancient and Modern Greece," vol. I, p. 457

In the first historic period of Greece, religious and moral precepts were likely to be of a practical, simple nature. The "Sages" — *i.e.* men who were supposed to know all the small stock of human wisdom, — either taught orally, or composed brief didactic poems for the benefit of their disciples. However simple their philosophy, or superficial their investigation, the moral tone of their teachings was elevating, and for the vast weal of the generation in which they lived.

Thales taught, "God is the oldest of all things, for He is without being"; that "death differeth not from life, the soul being immortal"; that "a bad man can hide neither evil actions nor evil thoughts from the divine power": and that "the world is the fairest of all things, for it is the work of God."

Cheilon's precepts were, "Not to slander our neighbors; to be more ready to share the misfortunes than the prosperity of our friends; to keep watch over ourselves: to suffer harm rather than take a dishonest gain, to seek peace: to honor age: to obey the laws."

Cleobulus said, "Do good to your friends that their friendship may be strengthened: to your enemies that they may become your friends. Be more eager to hear than to speak. Avoid injustice. Bridle the love of pleasure. Do violence to no man. Instruct your children. Keep up no enmities."

Pythagoras is said to have taught: "That one Deity is the source of all things. His form is light: His essence, truth. He is the giver of good to those who love Him, and as such is to be worshiped. He is the soul of all things pervading and maintaining the Universe. Knowledge should be sought as the means of approaching the nature and felicity of the Deity."

Xenophanes affirmed, "There is one eternal, infinite, immortal Being, by whom all things exist, and this One is God. Incorporeal and omniscient, he hears all, and sees all, — but not by human senses. He is at once mind, wisdom, and eternal existence."

46. How Syracuse was Founded

Strabo, "Geography," book VI, chap. 2, ¶ 4. Bohn Translation

Syracuse in Sicily was probably the most important city founded as a Greek colony. During a part of its history it was probably the largest and richest city speaking the Hellenic tongue. The manner of its founding, inquiry of Delphi as to the site, etc., is very typical of all Greek colonies. Note also the admirable location of Syracuse: at first on an island easy to defend, then able to spread itself over an ample area on the mainland.

Archias sailing from Corinth [founded Syracuse] about the same time that Naxos and Megara [other Sicilian colony towns] were built. They say that Myscellus and Archias having gone to Delphi at the same time to consult the oracle, the god asked whether they would choose wealth or health? Then Archias preferred wealth, and Myscellus health: upon which the oracle assigned [the site of] Syracuse to the former to found, and Croton [in Italy] to the latter. And certainly in like manner it fell out that the Crotonites should dwell in a state so famed for its salubrity [as Strabo has elsewhere described], — and that so great riches should have accrued to the Syracusans, that their name has been embodied in the proverb applied to overrich men, — "that they have not yet a tenth of the riches of the Syracusans."

While Archias was on his voyage to Sicily he left Chersicrates, a chief of the race of the Heracleidæ with a part of the expedition to settle the island now called Corcyra, but anciently called Scheria, and he — when he had expelled the Liburni who then possessed it — established his colony

on the island. Archias pursuing his route, met with certain Dorians at Zephyrium, [one of the southernmost headlands of Italy] who had quitted the company of those who had founded [Sicilian] Megara. These he took with him, and in conjunction with them founded Syracuse. The city flourished on account of the fertility of the country and the convenience of the harbors. The citizens became great rulers. While under the lordship themselves of tyrants, they domineered over the other states [of Sicily], and when freed from despotism they set at liberty such as had been enslaved by the Barbarians: of these Barbarians some were the original islanders, some had come across from the mainland. The Greeks suffered none of the Barbarians to approach the shore, although they were not able to expel them entirely from the interior, for the Siculi, Sicani, Morgetes, and some others still inhabit the island at the present day. . . .[1]

[Part of Syracuse is located upon] the island of Ortygia, the circumference of which simply by itself is that of a sizable city. Ortygia is connected with the mainland by a bridge, and [boasts of] the fountain Arethusa, which flows in such abundance as to form a river at once, and flows into the sea. They say that it is the river Alpheus, which rises in the Peloponnesus, and that it flows through the land beneath the sea to the place where the Arethusa rises and flows into the sea. Some such proofs as these are given to prove the fact. A certain chalice having fallen into the river at Olympia [in Greece] was cast up by the springs of Arethusa, and the fountain too is troubled by the sacrifices of oxen at Olympia. Likewise Pindar — following such stories, sings how, —

> "Ortygia, revered place of the reappearing of Alpheus,
> The offset of renowned Syracuse. . . ."

[Strabo, however, treats the story as a very improbable one, gravely concluding] many rivers, and in many places

[1] Strabo was writing before 19 A.D.

flow beneath the earth, — but none so great a distance: also although there may be no inherent impossibility in this circumstance, yet the above-mentioned accounts are entirely impossible.

47. The Colony of Naucratis in Egypt

Herodotus, book II, chaps. 178–179. Rawlinson's Translation

Naucratis was practically the only point in Egypt where the Greeks were allowed to settle. It thus became a community of much importance both for trade, and also for enabling the Greeks to gather ideas and learning from the hoary civilization of Egypt, to which they owed not a little.

Amasis[1] was partial to the Greeks, and among other favors which he granted them, gave to such as liked to settle in Egypt the city of Naucratis for their residence. To those who only wished to trade upon the coast, and did not want to fix their abode in the country, he granted certain lands where they might set up altars and erect temples to the gods. Of these temples the grandest and most famous, which is also the most frequented, is called the "Hellenium." It was built conjointly by the Ionians, Dorians, and Æolians, the following cities taking part in the work: the Ionian states of Chios, Teos, Phocæa, and Clazomenæ; Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, and Phasêlis of the Dorians; and Mytilêne of the Æolians.

These are the states to whom the temple belongs, and they have the right of appointing the governors of the factory; the other cities which claim a share in the building claim what in no sense belongs to them. Three nations, however, consecrated for themselves separate temples — the Æginetan one to Zeus, the Samians to Hera, and the Milesians to Apollo.

[1] King of Egypt, 570 to 525 B.C. He died shortly before the conquest of the country by the Persians.

In ancient times there was no factory but Naucratis in the whole of Egypt; and if a person entered one of the other mouths of the Nile, he was obliged to swear that he had not come there of his own free will. Having so done, he was bound to sail in his ship to the Canopic mouth, or, were that impossible owing to the contrary winds, he must take his wares by boat all round the Delta, and so bring them to Naucratis, which had an exclusive privilege.

48. Theognis the Poet laments the Misrule in Megara

Theognis's "Poems." Bohn Translation, p. 443. Frere, Translator

Theognis was no friend of democracies and demagogues. These lines voice the feeling of vast numbers of outraged aristocrats, during the civic commotions that shook the poet's home (Megara) and many other cities.

Our commonwealth preserves its former frame,
Our common people are no more the same:
They that in skins and hides were rudely dressed,
Nor dreamt of law, nor sought to be redressed
By rules of right, but in the days of old
Flocked to the town, like cattle to the fold,
Are now the "Brave and Wise," and we, the rest,
(Their betters nominally, once the "Best")
Degenerate, debased, timid and mean!
Who can endure to witness such a scene?
Their easy courtesies, the ready smile,
Prompt to deride, to flatter, and beguile!
Their utter disregard of right or wrong,
Of truth or honor! — Out of such a throng
(For any difficulties, any need,
For any bold design on manly deed)
Never imagine you can choose a just
Or steady friend, or faithful in his trust.

But change your habits![1] Let them go their way!
Be condescending, affable and gay!
Adopt with every man the style and tone
Most courteous and congenial with his own:
But in your secret counsels keep aloof
From feeble paltry souls: that, at the proof
Of danger and distress are sure to fail;
For whose salvation nothing can avail.

Theognis on "The Exile's Fate"

How exile to a Hellene — whose whole life was wrapped up in his own little city — was the next of calamities to death, is voiced in these lines.

An exile has no friends! no partisan
Is firm and faithful to the banished man:
A disappointment and a punishment
Harder to bear, and worse than banishment!

49. Lycurgus's Reforms in Sparta

Plutarch's "Life of Lycurgus," chaps. IX–XII

According to honored tradition, the Spartan people had become luxurious and were in danger of declining in robust activity and losing their national power, when they were given a peculiar and admirable set of laws and social customs by Lycurgus, — thanks to which they became the most austere and uncorrupted folk in Greece, as well as the most powerful in war. Modern criticism has made it fairly evident that Lycurgus never lived, that he was originally a god who became metamorphosed into a human lawgiver. The precise origin of the famous Spartan constitution is decidedly uncertain; but the institutions *attributed* to Lycurgus are undoubted facts. Thanks to them and thanks to the peculiar education given Spartan youths, Lacedæmon was the *hegemon* (*i.e.* leading state) of Greece for many glorious centuries.

[1] Put aside aristocratic pride, and fall in with the "popular" habits of the times.

Lycurgus commanded that all gold and silver coin should be called in, and that only a sort of money made of iron should be current, a great weight and quantity of which was but very little worth; so that to lay up twenty or thirty pounds there was required a pretty large closet, and, to remove it, nothing less than a yoke of oxen. With the diffusion of this money, at once a number of vices were banished from Lacedæmon; for who would rob another of such a coin? Who would unjustly detain or take by force, or accept as a bribe, a thing which it was not easy to hide, nor a credit to have, nor indeed of any use to cut in pieces?

In the next place, he declared an outlawry of all needless and superfluous arts; but here he might almost have spared his proclamation; for they of themselves would have gone after the gold and silver, the money which remained being not so proper payment for curious work; for, being of iron, it was scarcely portable, neither, if they should take the pains to export it, would it pass amongst the other Greeks, who ridiculed it. So there was now no more means of purchasing foreign goods and small ware; merchants sent no shiploads into Laconian ports; no rhetoric master, no itinerant fortune teller, or gold or silversmith, engraver, or jeweler, set foot in a country which had no money; so that luxury, deprived little by little of that which fed and fomented it, wasted to nothing, and died away of itself. For the rich had no advantage here over the poor, as their wealth and abundance had no road to come abroad by, but were shut up at home doing nothing. And in this way they became excellent artists in common, necessary things; bedsteads, chairs, and tables, and such like staple utensils in a a family, were admirably well made there.

The Ordinances against Luxury

The third and most masterly stroke of this great lawgiver, by which he struck a yet more effectual blow against luxury

and the desire of riches, was the ordinance he made, that they should all eat in common, of the same bread and same meat, and of kinds that were specified, and should not spend their lives at home, laid on costly couches at splendid tables, delivering themselves up into the hands of their tradesmen and cooks, to fatten them in corners, like greedy brutes, and to ruin not their minds only, but their very bodies, which, enfeebled by indulgence and excess, would stand in need of long sleep, warm bathing, freedom from work, and, in a word, of as much care and attendance as if they were continually sick. It was certainly an extraordinary thing to have brought about such a result as this, but a greater yet to have taken away from wealth, as Theophrastus observes, not merely the property of being coveted, but its very nature of being wealth. For the rich, being obliged to go to the same table with the poor, could not make use of or enjoy their abundance, nor so much as please their vanity by looking at or displaying it. Nor were they allowed to take food at home first, and then attend the public tables, for every one had an eye upon those who did not eat and drink like the rest, and reproached them with being dainty and effeminate. . . .

The Public Repasts at Sparta

But to return to their public repasts: these had several names in Greek; the Cretans called them *andria*, because the men only came to them. The Lacedæmonians, however, called them *phiditia*, that is, love feasts, because that, by eating and drinking together, they had opportunity of making friends. . . . They met by companies of fifteen, more or less, and each of them stood bound to bring in monthly a bushel of meal, eight gallons of wine, five pounds of cheese, two pounds and a half of figs, and some very small sum of money to buy flesh or fish with. Besides this,

when any of them made sacrifice to the gods, they always sent a dole to the common hall; and, likewise, when any of them had been a hunting, he sent thither a part of the venison he had killed; for these two occasions were the only excuses allowed for supping at home. The custom of eating together was observed strictly for a great while afterwards; insomuch that King Agis himself, after having vanquished the Athenians, sending for his dinners at his return home, because he desired to eat privately with his queen, was refused it by the polemarchs; which refusal when he resented so much as to omit next day the sacrifice due for a war happily ended, they made him pay a fine.

Spartan Table Manners

They used to send their children to these tables as to schools of temperance; here they were instructed in state affairs by listening to experienced statesmen; here they learnt to converse with pleasantry, to make jests without scurrility, and to take them without ill humor. In this point of good breeding, the Lacedæmonians excelled particularly, but if any man were uneasy under it, upon the least hint given there was no more to be said to him. It was customary also for the eldest man in the company to say to each of them, as they came in, "Through this" [pointing to the door], "no words go out." When any one had a desire to be admitted into any of these little societies, he was to go through the following probation: each man in the company took a little ball of soft bread, which they were to throw into a deep basin, which a waiter carried round upon his head; those who liked the person to be chosen dropped their ball into the basin without altering its figure, and those who disliked him pressed it betwixt their fingers, and made it flat; and this signified as much as a negative voice. And if there were but one of these flattened pieces in the basin,

the suitor was rejected, so desirous were they that all the members of the company should be agreeable to each other. The basin was called *caldichus*, and the rejected candidate had a name thence derived. Their most famous dish was the black broth, which was so much valued that the elderly men fed only upon that, leaving what flesh there was to the younger.

They say that a certain king of Pontus, having heard much of this black broth of theirs, sent for a Lacedæmonian cook on purpose to make him some, but had no sooner tasted it than he found it extremely bad, which the cook observing, told him, "Sir, to make this broth relish, you should have bathed yourself first in the river Eurotas."

After drinking moderately, every man went to his home without lights, for the use of them was, on all occasions, forbid, to the end that they might accustom themselves to march boldly in the dark. Such was the common fashion of their meals.

50. The Spartan Discipline for Youths

Plutarch, "Life of Lycurgus," chaps. XVI–XIX

The foundations of Spartan success and power are undoubtedly discovered in the drastic education given the boys and youths. "Spartan discipline" succeeded admirably in its end of rendering the young citizens absolutely obedient to the laws and customs of the fatherland, and most efficient warriors in their own persons. Sparta was mighty because in warfare she could set in the field an army far superior in discipline and individual valor to that of any other power in Greece. For developing anything but the military virtues, however, this system, popularly ascribed to the hero Lycurgus, was grievously defective.

Nor was it in the power of the father to dispose of the child as he thought fit; he was obliged to carry it before certain triers at a place called Lesche; these were some of the elders of a tribe to which the child belonged; their

business it was carefully to view the infant, and, if they found it stout and well made, they gave order for its rearing, and allowed to it one of the nine thousand shares of land above mentioned for its maintenance, but if they found it puny and ill-shaped, ordered it to be taken to what was called the Apothetæ, a sort of chasm under Taygetus; as thinking it neither for the good of the child itself, nor for the public interest, that it should be brought up, if it did not, from the very outset, appear made to be healthy and vigorous. There was much care and art, too, used by the nurses; they had no swaddling bands; the children grew up free and unconstrained in limb and form, and not dainty and fanciful about their food; not afraid in the dark, or of being left alone; without any peevishness or ill humor or crying. Upon this account, Spartan nurses were often brought up, or hired by people of other countries; and it is recorded that she who suckled Alcibiades was a Spartan woman.

Lycurgus would not have pedagogues bought out of the market for his young Spartans nor such as should sell their pains; nor was it lawful, indeed, for the father himself to breed up the children after his own fancy; but as soon as they were seven years old they were to be enrolled in certain companies and classes, where they all lived under the same order and discipline, doing their exercises and taking their play together. Of these, he who showed the most conduct and courage was made captain; they had their eyes always upon him, obeyed his orders, and underwent patiently whatsoever punishment he inflicted; so that the whole course of their education was one continued exercise of a ready and perfect obedience. The old men, too, were spectators of their performances, and often raised quarrels and disputes among them, to have a good opportunity of finding out their different characters, and of seeing which would be valiant, which a coward, when they should come to more dangerous encounters. Reading and writing they gave them, just

enough to serve their turn; their chief care was to make them good subjects, and to teach them to endure pain and conquer in battle. To this end, as they grew in years, their discipline was proportionably increased; their heads were close clipped, and they were accustomed to go barefoot, and for the most part to play naked.

The Second Stage of the Spartan Education

After they were twelve years old, they were no longer allowed to wear any undergarment; they had one coat to serve them a year;[1] their bodies were hard and dry, with but little acquaintance of baths and unguents; these human indulgences they were allowed only on some few particular days in the year. They lodged together in little bands upon beds made of the rushes which grew by the banks of the river Eurotas, which they were to break off with their hands without a knife; if it were winter, they mingled some thistledown with their rushes, which it was thought had the property of giving warmth. . . . The old men, too, had an eye upon them, coming often to the grounds to hear and see them contend either in wit or strength with one another, and this as seriously and with as much concern as if they were their fathers, their tutors, or their magistrates; so that there scarcely was any time or place without some one present to put them in mind of their duty, and punish them if they had neglected it.

The Organization into Brotherhoods

Besides all this, there was always one of the best and honestest men in the city appointed to undertake the charge and governance of them; he again arranged them into their several bands, and set over each of them for their captain the most temperate and boldest of those they called Irens,

[1] The *chitōn* and the *himation*, one inside and one out, constituted the ordinary Greek dress; corresponding in use to the Roman tunic and toga.

who were usually twenty years old, two years out of the boys; and the eldest of the boys, again, were Mell-Irens, as much as to say, who would shortly be men. This young man, therefore, was their captain when they fought, and their master at home, using them for the offices of his house; sending the oldest of them to fetch wood, and the weaker and less able, to gather salads and herbs, and these they must either go without or steal; which they did by creeping into the gardens, or conveying themselves cunningly and closely into the eating houses: if they were taken in the act, they were whipped without mercy, for thieving so ill and awkwardly. They stole, too, all other meat they could lay their hands on, looking out and watching all opportunities, when people were asleep or more careless than usual. If they were caught, they were not only punished with whipping, but hunger, too, being reduced to their ordinary allowance, which was very slender, and so contrived on purpose, that they might set about to help themselves, and be forced to exercise their energy and address.

To return from whence we have digressed. So seriously did the Lacedæmonian children go about their stealing, that a youth, having stolen a young fox and hid it under his coat, suffered it to tear out his very bowels with its teeth and claws, and died upon the place, rather than let it be seen. What is practiced to this very day in Lacedæmon is enough to gain credit to this story, for I myself have seen several of the youths endure whipping to death at the foot of the altar of Artemis, surnamed Orthia.

They taught them, also, to speak with a natural and graceful raillery, and to comprehend much matter of thought in few words. For Lycurgus, who ordered, as we saw, that a great piece of money should be but of an inconsiderable value, on the contrary would allow no discourse to be current which did not contain in a few words a great deal of useful and curious sense; children in Sparta, by a habit of long

silence, came to give just and sententious answers; for, indeed, as loose and incontinent livers are seldom fathers of many children, so loose and incontinent talkers seldom originate many sensible words. King Agis, when some Athenian laughed at their short swords, and said that the jugglers on the stage swallowed them with ease, answered him, "We find them long enough to reach our enemies with"; and as their swords were short and sharp, so, it seems to me, were their sayings. They reach the point and arrest the attention of the hearers better than any other kind.

51. Solon and Crœsus

Herodotus, book I, chaps. 29–33

How Solon, the sage of Athens, visited Crœsus, the Lydian, in the plenitude of the latter's power, and how he warned him against vainglory and self-confidence, forms one of the most delightful narratives in Herodotus. There are grave difficulties (partly chronological) in the way of accepting this story too literally, but it is so pointedly and admirably told that it has deservedly become one of the most famous stories of antiquity.

When all these conquests had been added to the Lydian empire, and the prosperity of Sardis was now at its height, there came thither [to see Crœsus], one after another, all the sages of Greece living at the time, and among them Solon the Athenian.

Crœsus received him as his guest and lodged him in the royal palace. On the third or fourth day after, he bade his servants conduct Solon over his treasuries, and show him all their greatness and magnificence. When he had seen them all, and, so far as time allowed, inspected them, Crœsus addressed this question to him: "Stranger of Athens, we have heard much of thy wisdom and of thy travels through many lands, from love of knowledge and a wish to see the world. I am curious therefore to inquire of thee, whom, of

all men that thou hast seen, thou deemest the most happy." This he asked because he thought himself the happiest of mortals: but Solon answered him without flattery, according to his true sentiments, "Tellus of Athens, sire."

The Story of Tellus of Athens

Full of astonishment at what he heard, Crœsus demanded sharply, "And wherefore dost thou deem Tellus happiest?" To which the other replied: "First, because his country was flourishing in his days, and he himself had sons both beautiful and good, and he lived to see children born to each of them, and these children all grew up; and further because, after a life spent in what our people look upon as comfort his end was surpassingly glorious. In a battle between the Athenians and their neighbors near Eleusis, he came to the assistance of his countrymen, routed the foe, and died upon the field most gallantly. The Athenians gave him a public funeral on the spot where he fell, and paid him the highest honors."

Thus did Solon admonish Crœsus by the example of Tellus, enumerating the manifold particulars of his happiness. When he had ended, Crœsus inquired a second time, who after Tellus seemed to him the happiest, expecting that, at any rate, he would be given the second place.

The Story of Cleobis and Bito

"Cleobis and Bito," Solon answered: "They were of Argive race; their fortune was enough for their wants, and they were besides endowed with so much bodily strength that they had both gained prizes at the Games. Also this tale is told of them: There was a great festival in honor of the goddess Hera at Argos, to which their mother must needs be taken in a car. Now the oxen did not come home from the field in time: so the youths, fearful of being too

late, put the yoke on their own necks, and themselves drew the car in which their mother rode. Five and forty furlongs did they draw her, and stopped before the temple. This deed of theirs was witnessed by the whole assembly of worshipers, and then their life closed in the best possible way. Herein, too, God showed forth most evidently, how much better a thing for man death is than life. For the Argive men who stood around the car extolled the vast strength of the youths; and the Argive women extolled the mother who was blest with such a pair of sons; and the mother herself, overjoyed at the deed and at the praises it had won, standing straight before the image, besought the goddess to bestow on Cleobis and Bito, the sons who had so mightily honored her, the highest blessing to which mortals can attain. Her prayer ended, they offered sacrifice and partook of the holy banquet, after which the two youths fell asleep in the temple. They never woke more, but so passed from the earth. The Argives, looking on them as among the best of men, caused statues of them to be made, which they gave to the shrine at Delphi."

Solon's Opinion touching Crœsus

When Solon had thus assigned these youths the second place, Crœsus broke in angrily, "What, stranger of Athens, is my happiness so utterly set at naught by thee, that thou dost not even put me on a level with private men?"

"O Crœsus," replied the other, "thou askedst a question concerning the condition of man, of one who knows that the power above us is full of jealousy, and fond of troubling our lot. A long life gives one to witness much, and experience much oneself, that one would not choose. For thyself, O Crœsus, I see that thou art wonderfully rich, and art the lord of many nations; but with respect to that whereon thou questionest me, I have no answer to give, until I hear that thou hast closed thy life happily. For assuredly he

who possesses great store of riches is no nearer happiness than he who has what suffices for his daily needs, unless it so hap that luck attend upon him, and so he continue in the enjoyment of all his good things to the end of life. For many of the wealthiest men have been unfavored of fortune, and many whose means were moderate have had excellent luck. The wealthy man is better able to content his desires, and to bear up against a sudden buffet of calamity. The other has less ability to withstand these evils (from which, however, his good luck keeps him clear), but he enjoys all these following blessings: he is whole of limb, a stranger to disease, free from misfortune, happy in his children, and comely to look upon. If, in addition to all this, he end his life well, he is of a truth the man of whom thou art in search, the man who may rightly be termed happy. Call him, however, until he die, not happy but fortunate. No single human being is complete in every respect — something is always lacking. He who unites the greatest number of advantages, and retaining them to the day of his death, then dies peaceably, that man alone, sire, is, in my judgment, entitled to bear the name of 'happy.' But in every matter it behooves us to mark well the end: for oftentimes God gives men a gleam of happiness and then plunges them into ruin."

Such was the speech which Solon addressed to Crœsus, a speech which brought him neither largess nor honor. The king saw him depart with much indifference, since he thought that a man must be an arrant fool who made no account of present good, but bade men always wait and mark the end.

52. The Ring of Polycrates

Herodotus, book III, chaps. 39–43

Polycrates of Samos was a famous pirate prince (about 530 to 522 B.C.), whose galleys raided and terrorized the whole of the

Eastern Mediterranean. The famous story here given was doubtless designed by Herodotus to illustrate how (1) too much good fortune is sure to breed ill fortune (a favorite theory at the time he wrote), and (2) how vain it is for mortals to try to thwart the purposes of Fate.

. . . At the outset he divided the state into three parts, and shared the kingdom with his brothers, Pantagnôtus and Syloson; but later, having killed the former and banished the latter, who was the younger of the two, he held the whole island. Hereupon he made a contract of friendship with Amasis, the Egyptian king, sending him gifts, and receiving from him others in return. In a little while his power so greatly increased, that the fame of it went abroad throughout Ionia, and the rest of Greece. Wherever he turned his arms, success waited on him. He had a fleet of a hundred penteconters, and bowmen to the number of a thousand. Herewith he plundered all, without distinction of friend or foe; for he argued that a friend was better pleased if you gave him back what you had taken from him, than if you spared him at the first. He captured many of the islands, and several towns upon the mainland. Among his other doings he overcame the Lesbians in a sea fight, when they came with all their forces to the help of Miletus, and made a number of them prisoners. These persons, laden with fetters, dug the moat which surrounds the castle at Samos.

The exceeding good fortune of Polycrates did not escape the notice of Amasis, who was much disturbed thereat. When therefore his successes continued increasing, Amasis wrote him the following letter, and sent it to Samos. "Amasis to Polycrates thus sayeth: It is a pleasure to hear of a friend and ally prospering; but thy exceeding prosperity does not cause me joy, forasmuch as I know that the gods are envious. My wish for myself, and for those I love, is to be now successful, and now to meet with a check; thus

passing through life amid alternate good and ill, rather than with perpetual good fortune. For never yet did I hear tell of any one succeeding in all his undertakings who did not meet with calamity at last and come to utter ruin. Now, therefore, give ear to my words, and meet thy good luck in this way: bethink thee which of all thy treasures thou valuest most and canst least bear to part with; take it, whatsoever it be, and throw it away, so that it may be sure never to come any more into the sight of man. Then, if thy good fortune be not thenceforth checkered with ill, save thyself from harm by again doing as I have counseled."

When Polycrates read this letter, and perceived that the advice of Amasis was good, he considered carefully with himself which of the treasures that he had in store it would grieve him most to lose. After much thought he made up his mind that it was a signet ring which he was wont to wear, an emerald set in gold, the workmanship of Theodore, son of Telecles, a Samian. So he determined to throw this away; and, manning a penteconter, he went on board, and bade the sailors put out into the open sea. When he was now a long way from the island, he took the ring from his finger, and, in the sight of all those who were on board, flung it into the deep. This done, he returned home, and gave vent to his sorrow.

Now it happened five or six days afterwards that a fisherman caught a fish so large and beautiful, that he thought it well deserved to be made a present of to the king. So he took it with him to the gate of the palace, and said that he wanted to see Polycrates. Then Polycrates allowed him to come in; and the fisherman gave him the fish with these words following —

"Sir King, when I took this prize, I thought I would not carry it to market, though I am a poor man who live by my trade. I said to myself, It is worthy of Polycrates and his greatness; and so I brought it here to give it to you."

This speech pleased the king, who thus spoke in reply: "Thou didst right well, friend; and I am doubly indebted, both for the gift, and for the speech. Come now, and sup with me." So the fisherman went home, esteeming it a high honor that he had been asked to sup with the king. Meanwhile the servants, on cutting open the fish, found the signet of their master in its belly. No sooner did they see it than they seized upon it, and hastening to Polycrates with great joy, restored it to him, and told him in what way it had been found. The king, who saw something providential in the matter, forthwith wrote a letter to Amasis, telling him all that had happened, what he had himself done, and what had been the upshot — and dispatched the letter to Egypt.

When Amasis had read the letter of Polycrates, he perceived that it does not belong to man to save his fellow man from the fate which is in store for him; likewise he felt certain that Polycrates would end ill, as he prospered in everything, even finding what he had thrown away. So he sent a herald to Samos, and dissolved the contract of friendship. This he did, that when the great and heavy misfortune came, he might escape the grief which he would have felt if the sufferer had been his bond friend.

[Not long after Polycrates was entrapped by his enemy, the Persian satrap of Sardis, captured and put to a shameful death — thus meeting calamity, even as Amasis had dreaded.]

53. "Harmodius and Aristogeiton," the Patriotic Song of Athens

Translated in Felton's "Ancient and Modern Greece," vol. I, p. 371

The part of Harmodius and Aristogeiton in securing the liberty of Athens was exceedingly exaggerated, as Thucydides pointed out scarcely a century after their deed. Hipparchus, whom they slew (514 B.C.), was not really the dominant tyrant; and his brother

Hippias was left unscathed. But the democracy of Athens demanded heroes, and these conspirators and martyrs to the cause of liberty were long celebrated. The song here given was a drinking song, and has probably been trolled thousands of times while the wine went around and "patriotism" was abundant and noisy. The verses have a swinging lilt, and come as nearly as anything we have to being the "National Hymn" of Athens.

Wreathed in myrtle be my glave
  Wreathed like yours, stout hearts! when ye
Death to the usurper gave
  And to Athens liberty!

Dearest youths! ye are not dead
  But in islands of the blest
With Tydean Diomed,
  With the swift Achilles rest.

Yes, with wreaths like yours I'll twine,
  Wreaths like yours — ye tried and true!
When at chaste Athenē's shrine
  Ye the base Hipparchus slew.

Bright your deeds beyond the grave!
  Endless your renown, for ye
Death to the usurper gave
  And to Athens liberty!

54. The Ancient Constitution of Athens

Aristotle, "Constitution of Athens," chap. 3 ff. Kenyon's Translation

The annual archonship in Athens began about 683 B.C., and from this time Attica can be considered to have enjoyed at least the simulacrum of a "free" government. But it was very far from being a democracy. The system — according to the excellent authority of Aristotle — which prevailed down to Draco's time, about 621 B.C., is as here stated.

Now the ancient constitution, as it existed before the time of Draco, was organized as follows: The magistrates were elected according to qualifications of birth and wealth. At first they governed for life, but subsequently for terms of ten years. The first magistrates, both in date and in importance, were the King, the Polemarch (commander in war), and the Archon. The earliest of these offices was that of the King, which existed from ancestral antiquity. To this was added, secondly, the office of Polemarch, on account of some of the Kings proving feeble in war; for which reason Ion[1] was invited to accept the post on an occasion of pressing need. The last of the three offices was that of the Archon, which most authorities state to have come into existence in the time of Medon. Others assign it to the time of Acastus, and adduce as proof the fact that the nine Archons swear to execute their oaths "as in the days of Acastus," which seems to suggest that it was in his reign that the descendants of Codrus retired from the kingship in return for the prerogatives conferred upon the Archon.

Whichever way it be, the difference in date is small; but that it was the last of these magistracies to be created is shown by the fact that the Archon has no part in the ancestral sacrifices, as the King and the Polemarch have, but only in those of later origin. So it is only at a comparatively late date that the office of Archon has become of great importance, by successive accretions of power. The Thesmothĕtæ[2] were appointed many years afterwards: when these offices had already become annual; and the object of their creation was that they might publicly record all legal decisions, and act as guardians of them with a view to executing judgment upon transgressors of the law. Accord-

[1] Ion was said to have come to the assistance of his grandfather Erechtheus when the latter was engaged in war with Eumolpus of Eleusis.

[2] The six junior archons.

ingly their office, alone of those which have been mentioned, was never of more than annual duration.

So far, then, do these magistracies precede all others in point of date. At that time the nine Archons did not all live together. The King occupied the building now known as the Bucolium, near the Prytanēum, as may be seen from the fact that even to the present day the marriage of the King's wife to Dionysus[1] takes place there. The Archon lived in the Prytaneum, the Polemarch in the Epilycēum. The latter building was formerly called the Polemarchēum, but after Epilycus, during his term of office as Polemarch, had rebuilt it and fitted it up, it was called the Epilyceum. The Thesmothetæ occupied the Thesmothetēum. In the time of Solon, however, they all came together into the Thesmothetēum. They had power to decide cases finally on their own authority, not, as now, merely to hold a preliminary hearing.

The Council of Areopagus had as its constitutionally assigned duty the protection of the laws; but in point of fact it administered the greater and most important part of the government of the state, and inflicted personal punishments and fines summarily upon all who misbehaved themselves. This was the natural consequence of the fact that the Archons were elected under qualifications of birth and wealth, and that the Areopagus was composed of those who had served as Archons; for which latter reason the membership of the Areopagus is the only office which has continued to be a life magistracy to the present day.

55. The Reforms of Clisthenes

Aristotle, "Constitution of Athens," chaps. 21–22

Clisthenes's great legislative reforms did not perhaps get into real effect until 507 B.C. Their results were immediate and bene-

[1] The wife of the king-archon every year went through the ceremony of marriage to the god Dionysus, at the feast of the Anthesteria.

ficial. Thanks to the harmony and efficiency which they infused into the Athenian body politic, Athens was able to play her noble part at Marathon and Salamis.

The people, therefore, had good reason to place confidence in Clisthenes. Accordingly when, at this time, he found himself at the head of the masses, three years after the expulsion of the tyrants, in the archonship of Isagoras[1] his first step was to distribute the whole population into ten tribes in place of the existing four, with the object of intermingling the members of the different tribes, so that more persons might have a share in the franchise.[2] From this arose the saying "Do not look at the tribes," addressed to those who wished to scrutinize the lists of the old families. Next he made the Council to consist of five hundred members instead of four hundred, each tribe now contributing fifty, whereas formerly each had sent a hundred.

The reason why he did not organize the people into twelve tribes was that he might not have to divide them according to the already existing Trittyes; for the four tribes had twelve Trittyes, so that he would not have achieved his object of redistributing the population in fresh combinations. Further, he divided the country by demes[3] into thirty parts, ten from the districts about the city, ten from the coast, and ten from the interior. These he called Trittyes; and he

[1] 508 B.C.

[2] He introduced a large number of new citizens by the enfranchisement of emancipated slaves and resident aliens. It would have been difficult to introduce them into the old tribes, which were organized into clans and families on the old aristocratic basis; the new tribes had no such associations.

[3] The number of demes, from Herodotus, appears to have been a hundred. This number increased with the population, and in the third century B.C. there were 176 demes. The demes composing each Trittys were contiguous, but each Trittys was separated from its two fellows, so that the party feeling of the tribe was spread over three local divisions, and the old feuds between the different districts of Attica became impossible.

assigned three of them by lot to each tribe, in such a way that each should have one portion in each of these three divisions.

The Organization of the Demes

All who lived in any given deme he declared fellow-demesmen, to the end that the new citizens might not be exposed by the habitual use of family names, but that men might be known by the names of their demes; and accordingly it is by the names of their demes [1] that the Athenians still speak of one another. He also instituted demarchs, who had the same duties as the previously existing naucrari, — the demes being made to take the place of the naucraries. He gave names to the demes, some from the localities to which they belonged, some from the persons who founded them, since some of them no longer corresponded to localities possessing names. On the other hand, he allowed everyone to retain his family and clan and religious rites according to ancestral custom.[2] The names given to the tribes were the ten which the Pythia appointed out of the hundred selected national heroes.

Ostracism

By these reforms the constitution became much more democratic than that of Solon. The laws of Solon had been obliterated by disuse during the period of the tyranny, and new ones had been drawn up in their place by Clisthenes with the object of securing the good will of the masses.

[1] By this device those whose fathers had been slaves or aliens would not be obliged to betray their origin by giving their father's name. But in later times the name of the father as well as of the deme was officially given.

[2] Thus the ancient divisions were maintained for the benefit of the older families, but they ceased to be part of the regular organization of the community for political purposes.

Among these was the law concerning ostracism. Four years[1] after the establishment of this system, in the archonship of Hermocreon, they first imposed upon the Council of Five Hundred the oath which they take to the present day. Next they began to elect the generals according to tribes, one from each tribe, while the Polemarch was the commander of the whole army. Then, eleven years later, they won the victory of Marathon, in the archonship of Phænippus; and two years after this victory, when the people had now gained self-confidence, they for the first time made use of the law of ostracism. This was originally passed as a precaution against men in high office, because Pisistratus took advantage of his position as a popular leader and general to make himself tyrant; and the first person ostracized was one of his relatives, Hipparchus, son of Charmus, of the deme of Collytus, the very person on whose account especially Clisthenes had passed the law, as he wished to get rid of him. Hitherto, however, he had escaped; for the Athenians, with the usual leniency of the democracy, allowed all the partisans of the tyrants, who had not joined in their evil deeds in the time of the troubles, to remain in the city; and the chief and leader of these was Hipparchus. Then in the very next year, in the archonship of Telesinus [487 B.C.] they for the first time since the tyranny elected, tribe by tribe, the nine Archons by lot out of the five hundred candidates selected by the demes, all the earlier ones having been elected by vote; and in the same year Megacles, son of Hippocrates, of the deme of Alopĕcē, was ostracized. Thus for three years they continued to ostracize the friends of the tyrants, on whose account the law had been passed; but in the following year they began to remove others as

[1] This, if correct, would place this event in 504 B.C. But as this year belongs to another archon, and as the battle of Marathon was fought in 490 (eleven years later), the archonship of Hermocreon should be assigned to 501 B.C., for which year no name occurs in the extant list of archons.

well, including any one who seemed to be more powerful than was expedient. The first person unconnected with the tyrants who was ostracized was Xanthippus,[1] son of Ariphron.

56. How Athens was given a Democratic Organization by Clisthenes, and Triumphed over her Neighbors

Herodotus, book V, chaps. 66–77. Rawlinson's Translation

The expulsion of the Pisistratidæ (510 B.C.) was followed by a great burst of public spirit in Athens, of which the democratic reform of Clisthenes was one fruitage; another was the military activity that resulted in a bold and successful confronting of Sparta, and notable victories over the Bœotians and Chalcidians. Athens had been a weak military power in the days of the quarrels of the lower classes with the Eupatridæ. Now, thanks to the enkindling influence of freedom and of free institutions, she rapidly grows in aggressive strength.

Embedded in the story here given by Herodotus is also the story of the conspiracy of Cylon (about 630 B.C.), who had attempted to become tyrant two generations before Pisistratus.

The power of Athens had been great before; but, now that the tyrants were gone, it became greater than ever. The chief authority was lodged with two persons, Clisthenes, of the family of the Alcmæonids, who is said to have been the persuader of the Pythoness, and Isagoras, the son of Tisander, who belonged to a noble house, but whose pedigree I am not able to trace further. Howbeit his kinsmen offer sacrifice to the Carian Zeus. These two men strove together for the mastery; and Clisthenes, finding himself the weaker, called to his aid the common people. Hereupon, instead of the four tribes among which the Athenians had been divided hitherto, Clisthenes made ten tribes, and parceled out the Athenians among them. He

[1] Father of Pericles.

likewise changed the names of the tribes; for whereas they had till now been called after Geleon, Ægicores, Argades, and Hoples, the four sons of Ion, Clisthenes set these names aside, and called his tribes after certain other heroes, all of whom were native, except Ajax. Ajax was associated because, although a foreigner, he was a neighbor and an ally of Athens.

Having brought entirely over to his own side the common people of Athens, whom he had before disdained, he gave all the tribes new names, and made the number greater than formerly; instead of the four phylarchs he established ten; he likewise placed ten demes in each of the tribes; and he was, now that the common people took his part, very much more powerful than his adversaries.

Isagoras in his turn lost ground; and therefore, to counterplot his enemy, he called in Cleomenes the Lacedæmonian who had already, at a time when he was besieging the Pisistratidæ, made a contract of friendship with him. A charge is even brought against Cleomenes that he was on terms of too great familiarity with Isagoras's wife. At this time the first thing that he did was to send a herald and require that Clisthenes, and a large number of Athenians besides, whom he called "The Accursed," should leave Athens. This message he sent at the suggestion of Isagoras: for in the affair referred to, the blood guiltiness lay on the Alcmæonidæ and their partisans, while he and his friends were quite clear of it.

The Story of Cylon

The way in which "The Accursed" at Athens got their name, was the following. There was a certain Athenian called Cylon, a victor at the Olympic games, who aspired to the sovereignty, and aided by a number of his companions, who were of the same age with himself, made an attempt to seize the citadel. But the attack failed; and

Cylon became a suppliant at the image. Hereupon the Heads of the Naucraries, who at that time bore rule in Athens, induced the fugitives to remove by a promise to spare their lives. Nevertheless, they were all slain; and the blame was laid on the Alcmæonidæ. All this happened before the time of Pisistratus.

The Futile Intervention of Cleomenes

When the message of Cleomenes arrived, requiring Clisthenes and "The Accursed" to quit the city, Clisthenes departed of his own accord. Cleomenes, however, notwithstanding his departure, came to Athens, with a small band of followers; and on his arrival sent into banishment seven hundred Athenian families, which were pointed out to him by Isagoras. Succeeding here, he next endeavored to dissolve the council, and to put the government into the hands of three hundred of the partisans of that leader. But the council resisted, and refused to obey his orders; whereupon Cleomenes, Isagoras, and their followers took possession of the citadel. Here they were attacked by the rest of the Athenians, who took the side of the council, and were besieged for the space of two days: on the third day they accepted terms, being allowed — at least such of them as were Lacedæmonians — to quit the country. And so the word which came to Cleomenes received its fulfillment. For when he first went up into the citadel, meaning to seize it, just as he was entering the sanctuary of the goddess, in order to question her, the priestess arose from her throne, before he had passed the doors, and said — "Stranger from Lacedæmon, depart hence, and presume not to enter the holy place — it is not lawful for a Dorian to set foot there." But he answered, "Oh! woman, I am not a Dorian, but an Achæan."[1] Slighting this warning,

[1] The Heraclidæ were, according to the unanimous tradition, the old royal family of the Peloponnesus.

Cleomenes made his attempt, and so he was forced to retire, together with his Lacedæmonians.[1] The others were cast into prison by the Athenians, and condemned to die, — among them Timasitheüs the Delphian, of whose prowess and courage I have great things which I could tell.

So these men died in prison. The Athenians directly afterwards recalled Clisthenes, and the seven hundred families which Cleomenes had driven out; and, further, they sent envoys to Sardis, to make an alliance with the Persians, for they knew that war would follow with Cleomenes and the Lacedæmonians. When the ambassadors reached Sardis and delivered their message, Artaphernes, son of Hystaspes, who was at that time governor of the place, inquired of them "who they were, and in what part of the world they dwelt, that they wanted to become allies of the Persians?" The messenger told him; upon which he answered them shortly — that "if the Athenians chose to give earth and water[2] to King Darius, he would conclude an alliance with them; but if not, they might go home again." After consulting together, the envoys, anxious to form the alliance, accepted the terms; but on their return to Athens, they fell into deep disgrace on account of their compliance.

Cleomenes turned back, and the Bœotians and Chalcideans defeated

Meanwhile Cleomenes, who considered himself to have been insulted by the Athenians both in word and deed, was drawing a force together from all parts of the Peloponnesus, without informing any one of his object; which was to revenge himself on the Athenians, and to establish Isagoras, who had escaped with him from the citadel,[3] as despot of Athens. Accordingly, with a large army, he invaded the

[1] The Athenians always cherished a lively recollection of this triumph over their great rivals.

[2] Symbols of submission.

[3] Disguised, probably as a Spartan.

district of Eleusis,[1] while the Bœotians, who had concerted measures with him, took Œnoë and Hysiæ,[2] two country towns upon the frontier; and at the same time the Chalcideans,[3] on another side, plundered divers places in Attica. The Athenians, notwithstanding that danger threatened them from every quarter, put off all thought of the Bœotians and Chalcideans till a future time, and marched against the Peloponnesians, who were at Eleusis.

As the two hosts were about to engage, first of all the Corinthians, bethinking themselves that they were perpetrating a wrong, changed their minds, and drew off from the main army. Then Demaratus, son of Ariston, who was himself king of Sparta and joint leader of the expedition, and who till now had had no sort of quarrel with Cleomenes, followed their example. On account of this rupture between the kings, a law was passed at Sparta, forbidding both monarchs to go out together with the army, as had been the custom hitherto. The law also provided, that, as one of the kings was to be left behind, one of the Tyndaridæ should also remain at home; whereas hitherto both had accompanied the expeditions, as auxiliaries. So when the rest of the allies saw that the Lacedæmonian kings were not of one mind, and that the Corinthian troops had quitted their host, they likewise drew off and departed.

So when the Spartan army had broken up from its quarters thus ingloriously, the Athenians, wishing to revenge themselves, marched first against the Chalcideans. The Bœotians, however, advancing to the aid of the latter as far as the Euripus, the Athenians thought it best to attack them first. A battle was fought accordingly; and the Athenians gained a very complete victory, killing a vast number of the enemy,

[1] Eleusis was the key to Attica on the south.

[2] Hysiæ lay on the north side of Cithæron, in the plain of the Asopus.

[3] Chalcis had been one of the most important cities in Greece. It was said to have been originally a colony from Athens.

and taking seven hundred of them alive. After this, on the very same day, they crossed into Eubœa, and engaged the Chalcideans with the like success; whereupon they left four thousand settlers upon the lands of the Hippobotæ, — which is the name the Chalcideans give to their rich men. All the Chalcidean prisoners whom they took were put in irons, and kept for a long time in close confinement, as likewise were the Bœotians, until the ransom asked for them was paid; and this the Athenians fixed at two minæ the man. The chains wherewith they were fettered the Athenians suspended in their citadel; where they were still to be seen in my day, hanging against the wall scorched by the Median flames, opposite the chapel which faces the west. The Athenians made an offering of the tenth part of the ransom-money: and expended it on the brazen chariot drawn by four steeds, which stands on the left hand immediately that one enters the gateway of the citadel. The inscription runs as follows: —

> "When Chalcis and Bœotia dared her might,
> Athens subdued their pride in valorous fight;
> Gave bonds for insults; and, the ransom paid,
> From the full tenths these steeds for Pallas made."

Thus did the Athenians increase in strength. And it is plain enough, not from this instance only, but from many everywhere, that freedom is an excellent thing; since even the Athenians, who, while they continued under the rule of tyrants, were not a whit more valiant than any of their neighbors, no sooner shook off the yoke than they became decidedly the first of all. These things show that, while undergoing oppression, they let themselves be beaten, since then they worked for a master; but so soon as they got their freedom, each man was eager to do the best he could for himself. So fared it now with the Athenians.

CHAPTER VI

THE PERIL FROM PERSIA

In the last part of the sixth and the first two decades of the fifth centuries B.C. came the Persian attack upon Greece. It is needless to expatiate upon the importance of this struggle. If Darius and Xerxes had prevailed, the history of civilization in Europe would have been so altered that imagination fails to give any conception of what might have followed. The Persians would not indeed have exterminated their Hellenic subjects; life under a satrap, sent down from Susa, might have been even fairly tolerable; but the free spirit of Hellas would have been utterly crushed. Above all, Athens would have been ruined just as her genius had begun to flower. It is impossible to imagine a Sophocles weaving his tragedies, a Phidias chiseling his sculptures, a Socrates going up and down the market place propounding his knotty questions, and kindling the mind of young Plato, while a garrison of Persian intruders held the Athenian acropolis and lorded it over the natives as over so many "slaves of the Great King."

Not merely was the life and liberty of Greece at stake in these wars, but there was no inherent reason why, after conquering the Hellenes, the Persians could not have carried their insatiable arms across to Italy, and subjugated infant Rome, also. Not Charles Martel at Tours, not Howard and Drake when they defeated the Spanish Armada, won victories more pregnant for universal history than Miltiades at Marathon, and Themistocles at Salamis.

It is the good fortune of this war, that its story is told by the delightful "Father of History," Herodotus; and his narratives usually require very limited introduction or comment. They may be read with pleasure by any one with red blood truly in his veins. They lack the critical accuracy of the monograph of a modern pedant; perhaps occasionally they are biased; but they seem very

often to have been based on personal conversations with participants in the great debate: old veterans fighting their battles over again for the benefit of the keen young traveler from Halicarnassus. All the extracts here given, covering most of the leading points in the great wars, are from Herodotus, save a single excerpt from the later but fairly authoritative "Life of Aristides," by Plutarch.

57. Aristagoras at Sparta

Herodotus, book V, chaps. 49-51

Aristagoras having induced the Ionian Greeks to revolt against Persia (499 B.C.), next undertook the difficult task of getting effective help from Greece proper. How the conservative Spartans refused to dip in any such distant enterprise is told as follows.

Cleomenes, however, was still king when Aristagoras, tyrant of Miletus, reached Sparta. At their interview, Aristagoras, according to the report of the Lacedæmonians, produced a bronze tablet, whereupon the whole circuit of the earth was engraved,[1] with all its seas and rivers. Discourse began between the two; and Aristagoras addressed the Spartan king in these words following: "Think it not strange, O King Cleomenes, that I have been at the pains to sail hither; for the posture of affairs, which I will now recount unto thee, made it fitting. Shame and grief is it indeed to none so much as to us, that the sons of the Ionians should have lost their freedom, and come to be the slaves of others; but yet it touches you likewise, O Spartans, beyond the rest of the Greeks, inasmuch as the preeminence over all Greece appertains to you. We beseech you, therefore, by the common gods of the Grecians, deliver the Ionians, who are your own kinsmen, from slavery. Truly the task is not difficult; for the barbarians are an unwarlike people; and you are the best and bravest war-

[1] This is almost our first record of a *map*. It was manifestly a great novelty in Sparta. In Ionia, with its large commercial activities, they may have been introduced somewhat earlier.

riors in the whole world. Their mode of fighting is the following: they use bows and arrows, and a short spear; they wear trousers in the field, and cover their heads with turbans. So easy are they to vanquish! Know, too, that the dwellers in these parts have more good things than all the rest of the world put together, — gold, and silver, and brass, and embroidered garments, beasts of burden, and bond servants, — all which, if you only wish it, you may soon have for your own. The nations border on one another, in the order which I will now explain.

"Next to these Ionians," (here he pointed with his finger to the map of the world which was engraved upon the tablet that he had brought with him) "these Lydians dwell; their soil is fertile, and few people are so rich in silver. Next to them," he continued, "come these Phrygians, who have more flocks and herds than any race that I know, and more plentiful harvests. On them border the Cappadocians, whom we Greeks know by the name of Syrians; they are neighbors to the Cilicians, who extend all the way to this sea, where Cyprus (the island which you see here) lies. The Cilicians pay the king a yearly tribute of five hundred talents.

"Next to them come the Armenians, who live here — and they too have numerous flocks and herds. After them come the Matiêni, inhabiting this country; then Cissia, this province, where you see the river Choaspes marked, and likewise the town Susa upon its banks, where the Great King holds his court, and where the treasuries are in which his wealth is stored. Once masters of this city, you may be bold to vie with Zeus himself for riches. In the wars which you wage with your rivals of Messenia, with them of Argos, likewise, and of Arcadia, about paltry boundaries, and strips of land not so remarkably good, ye contend with those who have no gold, nor silver even, which often give men heart to fight and die. Must ye wage such wars, and when ye might so easily be lords of Asia, will ye decide

otherwise?" Thus spoke Aristagoras; and Cleomenes replied to him, — "Milesian stranger, three days hence I will give thee an answer."

So they proceeded no further at that time. When, however, the day appointed for the answer came, and the two once more met, Cleomenes asked Aristagoras, "how many days' journey it was from the sea of the Ionians to the king's residence?" Hereupon Aristagoras, who had managed the rest so cleverly, and succeeded in deceiving the king, tripped in his speech and blundered; for instead of concealing the truth, as he ought to have done if he wanted to induce the Spartans to cross into Asia, he said plainly that it was a journey of three months. Cleomenes caught at the words, and, preventing Aristagoras from finishing what he had begun to say concerning the road, addressed him thus: "Milesian stranger, quit Sparta before sunset. This is no good proposal which thou makest to the Lacedæmonians, to conduct them a distance of three months' journey from the sea." When he had thus spoken, Cleomenes went to his home.

But Aristagoras took an olive bough in his hand,[1] and hastened to the king's house, where he was admitted, by reason of his suppliant's guise. Gorgo, the daughter of Cleomenes, and his only child, a girl of about eight or nine years of age, happened to be there, standing by her father's side. Aristagoras, seeing her, requested Cleomenes to send her out of the room before he began to speak with him; but Cleomenes told him to say on, and not mind the child. So Aristagoras began with a promise of ten talents if the king would grant him his request, and when Cleomenes shook his head, continued to raise his offer till it reached fifty talents; whereupon the child spoke: "Father," she said, "get up and go, or the stranger will certainly corrupt thee." Then Cleomenes, pleased at the warning of

[1] The regular token of a suppliant.

his child, withdrew and went into another room. Aristagoras quitted Sparta for good, not being able to discourse any more concerning the road which led up to the king.

58. Aristagoras at Athens and What came of It

Herodotus, book V, chaps. 97, 99–103

At Athens and at Eretria, Aristagoras had somewhat better success, although the forces sent back with him were so feeble they served only to irritate the Persians, not to help the cause of Ionian liberty.

The Athenians had come to this decision, and were already in bad odor with the Persians, when Aristagoras the Milesian, dismissed from Sparta by Cleomenes the Lacedæmonian, arrived at Athens. He knew that, after Sparta, Athens was the most powerful of the Grecian states. Accordingly he appeared before the people, and, as he had done at Sparta, spoke to them of the good things which there were in Asia, and of the Persian mode of fight — how they used neither spear nor shield, and were very easy to conquer. All this he urged, and reminded them also that Miletus was a colony from Athens, and therefore ought to receive their succor, since they were so powerful — and in the earnestness of his entreaties he cared little what he promised — till, at the last, he prevailed and won them over. It seems indeed to be easier to deceive a multitude than one man — for Aristagoras, though he failed to impose on Cleomenes the Lacedæmonian, succeeded with the Athenians, who were 30,000. Won by his persuasions, they voted that twenty ships should be sent to the aid of the Ionians, under the command of Melanthius, one of the citizens, a man of mark in every way. *These ships were the beginning of woes both to the Greeks and to the barbarians.*[1]

[1] Herodotus seems to have inserted these words with solemn purpose, as a kind of preliminary remark to the long warfare which he was to narrate.

How the Athenians and Ionians sacked Sardis

The Athenians now arrived with a fleet of twenty sail, and brought also in their company five triremes of Eretrians; which had joined the expedition, not so much out of good will towards Athens, as to pay a debt which they already owed to the people of Miletus. For in the old war between the Chalcideans and Eretrians, the Milesians fought on the Eretrian side throughout, while the Chalcideans had the help of the Samian people. Aristagoras, on their arrival, assembled the rest of his allies, and proceeded to attack Sardis, not, however, leading the army in person, but appointing to the command his own brother Charopinus, and Hermophantus, one of the citizens, while he himself remained behind in Miletus.

The Ionians sailed with this fleet to Ephesus, and, leaving their ships at Coressus in the Ephesian territory, took guides from the city, and went up the country, with a great host. They marched along the course of the river Caÿster, and, crossing over the ridge of Tmôlus, came down upon Sardis and took it, no man opposing them: the whole city fell into their hands, except only the citadel, which Artaphernes defended in person, having with him no contemptible force.

Though, however, they took the city, they did not succeed in plundering it; for, as the houses in Sardis were most of them built of reeds, and even the few which were of brick had a reed thatching for their roof, one of them was no sooner fired by a soldier than the flames ran speedily from house to house, and spread over the whole place. As the fire raged, the Lydians, and such Persians as were in the city, inclosed on every side by the flames, which had seized all the skirts of the town, and finding themselves unable to get out, came in crowds into the market place, and gathered themselves upon the banks of the Pactôlus. This stream which comes down from Mount Tmôlus, and brings the Sar-

dians a quantity of gold dust, runs directly through the market place of Sardis, and joins the Hermus, before that river reaches the sea. So the Lydians and Persians, brought together in this way in the market place and about the Pactôlus, were forced to stand on their defense; and the Ionians, when they saw the enemy in part resisting, and in part pouring towards them in dense crowds, took fright, and, drawing off to the ridge which is called Tmôlus, when night came, went back to their ships.

The Disastrous Retreat from Sardis

Sardis, however, was burnt, and, among other buildings, a temple of the native goddess Cybêlé was destroyed,[1] which was the reason afterwards alleged by the Persians for setting on fire the temples of the Greeks. As soon as what had happened was known, all the Persians who were stationed on this side the Halys drew together and brought help to the Lydians. Finding, however, when they arrived that the Ionians had already withdrawn from Sardis, they set off, and, following close upon their tracks, came up with them at Ephesus. The Ionians drew out against them in battle array; and a fight ensued, wherein the Greeks had very greatly the worse. Vast numbers were slain by the Persians: amongst other men of note, they killed the captain of the Eretrians, a certain Evalcidas, a man who had gained crowns at the games, and received much praise from Simonides the Cean. Such as made their escape from the battle dispersed among the several cities.

So ended this encounter. Afterwards the Athenians quite forsook the Ionians, and, though Aristagoras besought

[1] The burning of this temple as well as the general destruction of Sardis was an act of great folly on the part of the Ionians. It enraged the Lydian population against them, so that instead of joining with them against the Persians, they were willing to help the latter heartily to crush the rebellion.

them much by his ambassador, refused to give him any further help. Still the Ionians, notwithstanding this desertion, continued unceasingly their preparations to carry on the war against the Persian king, which their late conduct towards him had rendered unavoidable.

[The Ionians thus held out until 494 B.C. when, after being beaten in a great naval battle off the isle of Lade, Miletus was taken after a long siege and almost destroyed. The whole region was speedily reduced to abject dependence upon Persia. Aristagoras and Histiæus, the authors of the mischief, perished miserably.]

59. How the Persians came to Marathon

Herodotus, book V, chaps. 102-106

The Persian armament of Datis and Artaphernes was conducted to Marathon (490 B.C.) by old Hippias the ex-tyrant. In their extremity it was natural for the Athenians to appeal to Sparta, the chief military power of Greece, and the head of the "Peloponnesian League" — whereof Athens at this time was probably a member. It was equally natural for the Spartans to procrastinate in an emergency, and to allege some old custom as sufficient excuse.

The Persians, having thus brought Eretria into subjection after waiting a few days, made sail for Attica, greatly straitening the Athenians as they approached, and thinking to deal with them as they had dealt with the people of Eretria. And, because there was no place in all Attica so convenient for their horse as Marathon, and it lay, moreover, quite close to Eretria, therefore Hippias, the son of Pisistratus, conducted them thither.

When intelligence of this reached the Athenians, they likewise marched their troops to Marathon, and there stood on the defensive, having at their head ten generals, of whom one was Miltiades.

And first, before they left the city, the generals sent off to Sparta a herald, one Pheidippides,[1] who was by birth an Athenian, and by profession and practice a trained runner. This man, according to the account which he gave to the Athenians on his return, when he was near Mount Parthenium, above Tegea, fell in with the god Pan, who called him by his name, and bade him ask the Athenians "wherefore they neglected him so entirely, when he was kindly disposed towards them, and had often helped them in times past, and would do so again in time to come?" The Athenians, entirely believing in the truth of this report, as soon as their affairs were once more in good order, set up a temple to Pan under the Acropolis,[2] and, in return for the message which I have recorded, established in his honor yearly sacrifices and a torch race.

On the occasion of which we speak, when Pheidippides was sent by the Athenian generals, and, according to his own account, saw Pan on his journey, he reached Sparta on the very next day after quitting the city of Athens.[3] Upon his arrival he went before the rulers, and said to them —

"Men of Lacedæmon, the Athenians beseech you to hasten to their aid, and not allow that state, which is the most ancient in all Greece, to be enslaved by the barbarians. Eretria, look you, is already carried away captive; and Greece weakened by the loss of no mean city."

Thus did Pheidippides deliver the message committed to him. And the Spartans wished to help the Athenians, but were unable to give them any present succor, as they did not like to break their established law. It was then

[1] See Browning's poem "Pheidippides" in his "Dramatic Idylls."

[2] The temple or rather chapel of Pan was contained in a hollow in the rock just below the Propylæa, or entrance to the citadel. The cavern still exists.

[3] A marvelous but not incredible feat for a trained "distance runner." He seems to have covered about 150 miles in 48 hours.

the ninth day of the first decade; and they could not march out of Sparta on the ninth, when the moon had not reached the full. So they waited for the full of the moon.

60. The Battle of Marathon

Herodotus, book VI, chaps. 108–120

Herodotus's story of the battle of Marathon is substantially the only complete one we have, and on the whole seems reasonably correct, although not without decided difficulties. It is probable that the deliberation whether or not to fight the invaders was held *before* the Athenian army marched from Athens to Marathon, rather than near the battlefield. Again, it is likely the part of Callimachus is minimized to enhance the glory of Miltiades. As for Miltiades's speech to Callimachus, it is the historian's sheer creation, yet it represents what *ought* to have been said; and is historically true in spirit if not in fact.

It is needless to suggest the mighty issues that hung upon this battle.

The Athenians were drawn up in order of battle in a sacred close belonging to Heracles, when they were joined by the Platæans, who came in full force to their aid.

The Athenian generals were divided in their opinions; and some advised not to risk a battle, because they were too few to engage such a host as that of the Medes,[1] while others were for fighting at once; and among these last was Miltiades. He therefore, seeing that opinions were thus divided, and that the less worthy counsel appeared likely to prevail, resolved to go to the polemarch, and have a conference with him. For the man on whom the lot fell to be polemarch[2] at Athens was entitled to give his vote with the ten generals, since anciently[3] the Athenians allowed him an equal right of voting with them. The pole-

[1] This is the term frequently used by the Greeks in reference to the Persians.

[2] The polemarch, or war-archon, was the third archon in dignity.

[3] When Herodotus wrote, the polemarch had no military functions at all

march at this juncture was Callimachus of Aphidnæ; to him therefore Miltiades went, and said: —

"With thee it rests, Callimachus, either to bring Athens to slavery, or, by securing her freedom, to leave behind thee to all future generations a memory beyond even Harmodius and Aristogeiton. For never since the time that the Athenians became a people were they in so great a danger as now. If they bow their necks beneath the yoke of the Medes, the woes which they will have to suffer when given into the power of Hippias are already determined on; if, on the other hand, they fight and overcome, Athens may rise to be the very first city in Greece. How it comes to pass that these things are likely to happen, and how the determining of them in some sort rests with thee, I will now proceed to make clear. We generals are ten in number, and our votes are divided: half of us wish to engage, half to avoid a combat. Now, if we do not fight, I look to see a great disturbance at Athens which will shake men's resolutions, and then I fear they will submit themselves; but if we fight the battle before any unsoundness show itself among our citizens, let the gods but give us fair play, and we are well able to overcome the enemy. On thee therefore we depend in this matter, which lies wholly in thine own power. Thou hast only to add thy vote to my side and thy country will be free, and not free only, but the first state in Greece. Or, if thou preferrest to give thy vote to them who would decline the combat, then the reverse will follow."

Miltiades by these words gained Callimachus; and the addition of the polemarch's vote caused the decision to be in favor of fighting. Hereupon all those generals who had been desirous of hazarding a battle, when their turn came to command the army, gave up their right to Miltiades. He however, though he accepted their offers, nevertheless waited, and would not fight, until his own day of command arrived in due course.

Then at length, when his own turn was come, the Athenian battle was set in array, and this was the order of it. Callimachus the polemarch led the right wing; for it was at that time a rule with the Athenians to give the right wing to the polemarch.[1] After this followed the tribes, according as they were numbered, in an unbroken line; while last of all came the Platæans, forming the left wing. And ever since that day it has been a custom with the Athenians, in the sacrifices and assemblies held each fifth year at Athens,[2] for the Athenian herald to implore the blessing of the gods on the Platæans conjointly with the Athenians. Now, as they marshaled the host upon the field of Marathon, in order that the Athenian front might be of equal length with the Median, the ranks of the center were diminished, and it became the weakest part of the line, while the wings were both made strong with a depth of many ranks.

The Battle is Joined

So when the battle was set in array, and the victims showed themselves favorable, instantly the Athenians, so soon as they were let go, charged the barbarians at a run. Now the distance between the two armies was little short of eight furlongs.[3] The Persians, therefore, when they saw the Greeks coming on at speed, made ready to receive them, although it seemed to them that the Athenians were bereft of their senses, and bent upon their own destruction; for they

[1] The *right* wing was the special post of honor. The polemarch took the post as representative of the king, whose position it had been in the ancient times.

[2] The Panathenaic festival is probably intended. It was held every fifth year (*i.e.* once in every four years, halfway between the Olympic festivals), and was the great religious assembly of the Athenians.

[3] This distance is a little less than a mile. The object of Miltiades in putting his men on the run was to get them through the zone of the terrible Persian arrow fire as soon as possible. Very likely the actual "running" was confined to the last two hundred yards: the stadium-trained men of Miltiades could do this even in armor.

saw a mere handful of men coming on at a run without either horsemen or archers. Such was the opinion of the barbarians; but the Athenians in close array fell upon them, and fought in a manner worthy of being recorded. They were the first of the Greeks, so far as I know, who introduced the custom of charging the enemy at a run, and they were likewise the first who dared to look upon the Median garb, and to face men clad in that fashion. Until this time the very name of the Medes had been a terror to the Greeks to hear.

The two armies fought together on the plain of Marathon for a length of time; and in the mid-battle, where the Persians themselves and the Sacæ had their place, the barbarians were victorious, and broke and pursued the Greeks into the inner country; but on the two wings the Athenians and the Platæans defeated the enemy. Having so done, they suffered the routed barbarians to fly at their ease, and joining the two wings in one, fell upon those who had broken their own center, and fought and conquered them. These likewise fled, and now the Athenians hung upon the runaways and cut them down, chasing them all the way to the shore, on reaching which they laid hold of the ships and called aloud for fire.

The Last Phase of the Battle

It was in the struggle here that Callimachus the polemarch, after greatly distinguishing himself, lost his life; Stesilaüs too, the son of Thrasilaüs, one of the generals, was slain; and Cynægirus, the son of Eupharion, having seized on a vessel of the enemy's by the ornament at the stern,[1] had his hand cut off by the blow of an ax, and so perished; as likewise did many other Athenians of note and name.

[1] The ornament at the stern consisted of wooden planks curved gracefully in continuation of the sweep by which the stern of the ancient ship rose from the sea. Vessels were ordinarily ranged along a beach with their sterns towards the shore, and thus were liable to be seized by the stern ornament.

Nevertheless the Athenians secured in this way seven of the vessels; while with the remainder the barbarians pushed off, and taking aboard their Eretrian prisoners from the island where they had left them, doubled Cape Sunium, hoping to reach Athens before the return of the Athenians. The Alcmæonidæ were accused by their countrymen of suggesting this course to them; they had, it was said, an understanding with the Persians, and made a signal to them, by raising a shield, after they were embarked in their ships.

The Persians accordingly sailed round Sunium. But the Athenians with all possible speed marched away to the defense of their city, and succeeded in reaching Athens before the appearance of the barbarians: and as their camp at Marathon had been pitched in a precinct of Heracles, so now they encamped in another precinct of the same god at Cynosarges. The barbarian fleet arrived, and lay to off Phalerum, which was at that time the haven of Athens; but after resting awhile upon their oars, they departed and sailed away to Asia.

Various Details and Legends

There fell in this battle of Marathon, on the side of the barbarians, about six thousand and four hundred men; on that of the Athenians, one hundred and ninety-two. Such was the number of the slain on the one side and the other. A strange prodigy likewise happened at this fight. Epizêlus, the son of Cuphagoras, an Athenian, was in the thick of the fray, and behaving himself as a brave man should, when suddenly he was stricken with blindness, without blow of sword or dart; and this blindness continued thenceforth during the whole of his after life. The following is the account which he himself, as I have heard, gave of the matter: he said that a gigantic warrior, with a huge beard, which shaded all his shield, stood over against him; but the

ghostly semblance passed him by, and slew the man at his side. Such, as I understand, was the tale which Epizêlus told.[1]

After the full of the moon two thousand Lacedæmonians came to Athens. So eager had they been to arrive in time, that they took but three days to reach Attica from Sparta. They came, however, too late for the battle; yet, as they had a longing to behold the Medes, they continued their march to Marathon and there viewed the slain. Then, after giving the Athenians all praise for their achievement, they departed and returned home.

61. Aristides and his Opposition to Themistocles

Plutarch, "Life of Aristides," III ff.

Aristides was ostracized probably in 483 B.C. The years following Marathon seem to have been consumed at Athens in a bitter contention as to the true military policy. Aristides and the old conservative party would fain restrict the navy, and trust, in case the Persians returned, to the hoplites who had served so well at Marathon. Themistocles and the "young democrats" were in favor of a large navy, and staking everything on gaining control of the sea. The contest of course often drifted away from the public issue and turned on the merest personalities. The character of Aristides was infinitely superior to that of his opponent; but it would have been ruinous to Athens, to Greece, and to civilization, if his non-naval policy had prevailed.

However, Themistocles making many dangerous alterations, and withstanding and interrupting him in the whole series of his actions, Aristides also was necessitated to set himself against all Themistocles did, partly in self-defense, and partly to impede his power from still increasing by the favor of the multitude; esteeming it better to let slip some

[1] According to Plutarch, Theseus (the Athenian national hero) was seen by a great number of the Athenians fighting on their side against the Persians.

public conveniences, rather than that he by prevailing should become powerful in all things. In fine, when he once had opposed Themistocles in some measures that were expedient, and had got the better of him, he could not refrain from saying, when he left the assembly, that unless they sent Themistocles and himself to the barathrum,[1] there could be no safety for Athens. Another time, when urging some proposal upon the people, though there were much opposition and stirring against it, he yet was gaining the day; but just as the president of the assembly was about to put it to the vote, perceiving by what had been said in debate the inexpediency of his advice, he let it fall. Also he often brought in his propositions read by other persons, lest Themistocles, through party spirit against him, should be any hindrance to the good of the public.

In all the vicissitudes of public affairs, the constancy he showed was admirable, not being elated with honors, and demeaning himself tranquilly and sedately in adversity; holding the opinion that he ought to offer himself to the service of his country without mercenary views and irrespectively of any reward, not only of riches, but even glory itself. Hence it came, probably, that at the recital of these verses of Æschylus in the theater, relating to Amphiaraus,

> "For not at seeming just, but being so
> He aims; and from his depth of soil below,
> Harvests of wise and prudent counsels grow,"

the eyes of all the spectators turned on Aristides, as if this virtue, in an especial manner, belonged to him.

Examples of Aristides's Probity

He was a most determined champion for justice, not only against feelings of friendship and favor, but wrath and mal-

[1] A pit into which the dead bodies of malefactors, or perhaps actually living malefactors, were thrown.

ice. Thus it is reported of him that when prosecuting the law against one who was his enemy, on the judges after accusation refusing to hear the criminal, and proceeding immediately to pass sentence upon him, he rose in haste from his seat and joined in petition with him for a hearing, and that he might enjoy the privilege of the law. Another time, when judging between two private persons, on the one declaring his adversary had very much injured Aristides; "Tell me rather, good friend," he said, "what wrong he has done you: for it is your cause, not my own, which I now sit judge of." Being chosen to the charge of the public revenue, he made it appear, that not only those of his time, but the preceding officers, had alienated much treasure, and especially Themistocles: —

> "Well known he was an able man to be,
> But with his fingers apt to be too free."

Therefore, Themistocles, associating several persons against Aristides, and impeaching him when he gave in his accounts, caused him to be condemned of robbing the public; so Idomeneus states; but the best and chiefest men of the city much resenting it, he was not only exempted from the fine imposed upon him, but likewise again called to the same employment. Pretending now to repent him of his former practice, and carrying himself with more remissness, he became acceptable to such as pillaged the treasury, by not detecting or calling them to an exact account. So that those who had their fill of the public money began highly to applaud Aristides, and sued to the people, making interest to have him once more chosen treasurer. But when they were on the point of election, he reproved the Athenians. "When I discharged my office well and faithfully," said he, "I was insulted and abused; but now that I have allowed the public thieves in a variety of malpractices, I am considered an admirable patriot. I am more ashamed, therefore, of this

present honor than of the former sentence; and I commiserate your condition, with whom it is more praiseworthy to oblige ill men than to conserve the revenue of the public." Saying thus, and proceding to expose the thefts that had been committed, he stopped the mouths of those who cried him up and vouched for him, but gained real and true commendation from the best men.

[At Marathon he was one of the Athenian commanders; he seconded the aggressive plans of Miltiades heartily; and after the battle, being left in charge of the spoil, guarded it from peculation with perfect integrity.]

Of all his virtues, the common people were most affected with his justice, because of its continual and common use; and thus, although of mean fortune and ordinary birth, he possessed himself of the most kingly and divine appellation of "Just"; which kings, however, and tyrants have never sought after; but have taken delight to be surnamed besiegers of cities, thunderers, conquerors, or eagles again, and hawks;[1] affecting, it seems, the reputation which proceeds from power and violence, rather than that of virtue. . . . Aristides, therefore, had at first the fortune to be beloved for this surname, but at length envied. Especially when Themistocles spread a rumor amongst the people, that, by determining and judging all matters privately, he had destroyed the courts of judicature, and was secretly making way for a monarchy in his own person, without the assistance of guards. Moreover, the spirit of the people, now grown high, and confident with their late victory, naturally entertained feelings of dislike to all of more than common fame and reputation.

[1] Demetrius Poliorcetes, the besieger, Ptolemy Ceraunus, the thunderer, and Demetrius Nicator, the conqueror, are the probable examples alluded to; with Pyrrhus who had the name of Ætus, the eagle, and Antiochus surnamed Hierax, the hawk.

How Aristides suffered Ostracism

Coming together, therefore, from all parts into the city, they banished Aristides by the *ostracism*, giving their jealousy of his reputation the name of fear of tyranny. For ostracism was not the punishment of any criminal act, but was speciously said to be the mere depression and humiliation of excessive greatness and power; and was in fact a gentle relief and mitigation of envious feeling, which was thus allowed to vent itself in inflicting no intolerable injury, only a ten years' banishment. But after it came to be exercised upon base and villainous fellows they desisted from it; Hyperbolus being the last whom they banished by the ostracism, [probably in 416 or 415 B.C.].

The cause of Hyperbolus's banishment is said to have been this. Alcibiades and Nicias, men that bore the greatest sway in the city, were of different factions. As the people, therefore, were about to vote the ostracism, and obviously to decree it against one of them, consulting together and uniting their parties, they contrived the banishment of Hyperbolus. Upon which the people, being offended, as if some contempt or affront was put upon the thing, left off and quite abolished it. Ostracism was performed in this way. Every one taking an *ostracon*, a sherd, that is, or piece of earthenware, wrote upon it the citizen's name he would have banished, and carried it to a certain part of the marketplace surrounded with wooden rails. First the magistrates numbered all the sherds in gross (for if there were less than six thousand, the ostracism was imperfect); then, laying every name by itself, they pronounced him whose name was written by the larger number, banished for ten years, with, however, the enjoyment of his estate.

When they were writing the names on the sherds, it is reported that an illiterate clownish fellow, giving Aristides his sherd, supposing him a common citizen, begged him to

write *Aristides* upon it; and he being surprised and asking if Aristides had ever done him any injury, "None at all," said he, "neither know I the man; but *I am tired of hearing him everywhere called the Just.*" Aristides, hearing this, is said to have made no reply, but returned the sherd with his own name inscribed. At his departure from the city, lifting up his hands to heaven, he made a prayer (the reverse, it would seem, of that of Achilles), that the Athenians might never have any occasion which should constrain them to remember Aristides.

How Aristides was recalled from Banishment

Nevertheless, three years after, when Xerxes marched through Thessaly and Bœotia into the country of Attica, repealing the law, they decreed the return of the banished: chiefly fearing Aristides, lest, joining himself to the enemy, he should corrupt and bring over many of his fellow-citizens to the party of the barbarians: much mistaking the man, who, already before the decree, was exerting himself to excite and encourage the Greeks to the defense of their liberty. And afterwards, when Themistocles was general with absolute power, he assisted him in all ways both in action and counsel; rendering, in consideration of the common security, the greatest enemy he had the most glorious of men.

[The rest of his career he spent most honorably in the public service, opposing divers dishonorable projects of Themistocles and aiding the Athenians to organize their "Naval Confederacy." He died probably in 468 B.C., having very likely seen the ostracism of his great rival.]

His monument is to be seen at Phalerum, which they say was built him by the city, he not having left enough even to defray funeral charges. And it is stated, that his two daughters were publicly married out of the prytaneum, or statehouse, by the city, which decreed each of them three

thousand drachmas [about $540.00] for her portion; and that upon his son Lysimachus, the people bestowed a hundred minas [about $1800.00] of money, and as many acres of planted land, and ordered him besides, upon the motion of Alcibiades, four drachmas [about 72 cents] a day.

62. How Athens resolved to face the Persians, and how Themistocles interpreted the Adverse Oracles

Herodotus, book VII, chaps. 138–144

Herodotus wrote the following possibly about 435 B.C. at a time when Athens was extremely unpopular throughout Hellas. In judging the position of the Athenians when Xerxes entered Greece in 480 B.C., it should be remembered: (1) they were the particular objects of Persian attack, singled out for special vengeance, and therefore with more to dread than other Hellenes; (2) they had just grounds for lacking confidence in their allies; (3) the old religious belief was still strong with them, and they stood in honest awe of the opinion of the Delphic oracle, even if there were reasons for feeling that the Pythoness had been corrupted by Persia. It was a great moral victory which the Athenian people won over its own fears, when it resolved to accept the interpretation and advice of Themistocles, and to stake all upon their fleet.

The expedition of the Persian king, though it was in name directed against Athens, threatened really the whole of Greece. And of this the Greeks were aware some time before; but they did not all view the matter in the same light. Some of them had given the Persian earth and water, and were bold on this account, deeming themselves thereby secured against suffering hurt from the barbarian army; while others, who had refused compliance, were thrown into extreme alarm. For whereas they considered all the ships in Greece too few to engage the enemy, it was plain that the greater number of states would take no part in the war, but warmly favored the Medes.

And here I feel constrained to deliver an opinion, which most men, I know, will mislike, but which, as it seems to me to be true, I am determined not to withhold. Had the Athenians, from fear of the approaching danger, quitted their country, or had they without quitting it submitted to the power of Xerxes, there would certainly have been no attempt to resist the Persians by sea; in which case the course of events by land would have been the following. Though the Peloponnesians might have carried ever so many breastworks across the Isthmus, yet their allies would have fallen off from the Lacedæmonians, not by voluntary desertion, but because town after town must have been taken by the fleet of the barbarians; and so the Lacedæmonians would at last have stood alone, and, standing alone, would have displayed prodigies of valor, and died nobly. Either they would have done thus, or else, before it came to that extremity, seeing one Greek state after another embrace the cause of the Medes, they would have come to terms with King Xerxes, — and thus, either way Greece would have been brought under Persia. For I cannot understand of what possible use the walls across the Isthmus could have been, if the king had had the mastery of the sea. If then a man should now say that the Athenians were the saviors of Greece, he would not exceed the truth. For they truly held the scales; and whichever side they espoused must have carried the day. They, too, it was who, when they had determined to maintain the freedom of Greece, roused up that portion of the Greek nation which had not gone over to the Medes; and so, next to the gods, *they* repulsed the invader. Even the terrible oracles which reached them from Delphi, and struck fear into their hearts, failed to persuade them to fly from Greece. They had the courage to remain faithful to their land, and await the coming of the foe.

When the Athenians, anxious to consult the oracle, sent

their messengers to Delphi, hardly had the envoys completed the customary rites about the sacred precinct, and taken their seats inside the sanctuary of the god, when the Pythoness, Aristonicé by name, thus prophesied: —

"Wretches, why sit ye here? Fly, fly to the ends of creation,
Quitting your homes, and the crags which your city crowns with her circlet.
Neither the head, nor the body is firm in its place, nor at bottom
Firm the feet, nor the hands; nor resteth the middle uninjur'd.
All — all ruined and lost. Since fire, and impetuous Ares,
Speeding along in a Syrian chariot,[1] hastes to destroy her.
Not alone shalt thou suffer; full many the towers he will level,
Many the shrines of the gods he will give to a fiery destruction.
Even now they stand with dark sweat horribly dripping,
Trembling and quaking for fear; and, lo! from the high roofs trickleth
Black blood, sign prophetic of hard distresses impending.
Get ye away from the temple; and brood on the ills that await ye!"

When the Athenian messengers heard this reply, they were filled with the deepest affliction: whereupon Timon, the son of Androbûlus, one of the men of most mark among the Delphians, seeing how utterly cast down they were at the gloomy prophecy, advised them to take an olive branch, and entering the sanctuary again, consult the oracle as suppliants. The Athenians followed this advice, and going in once more, said — "O king! we pray thee reverence these boughs of supplication which we bear in our hands, and deliver to us something more comforting concerning our country. Else we will not leave thy sanctuary, but will stay here till we die." Upon this the priestess gave them a second answer, which was the following: —

"Pallas has not been able to soften the lord of Olympus,
Though she has often prayed him, and urged him with excellent counsel.
Yet once more I address thee in words than adamant firmer,
When the foe shall have taken whatever the limit of Cecrops[2]

[1] That is, Assyrian.

[2] By the "limit of Cecrops" the boundaries of Attica are intended.

Holds within it, and all which divine Cithæron[1] shelters,
Then far-seeing Zeus grants this to the prayers of Athenê;
Safe shall the wooden wall continue for thee and thy children.
Wait not the tramp of the horse, nor the footmen mightily moving
Over the land, but turn your back to the foe, and retire ye.
Yet shall a day arrive when ye shall meet him in battle.
Holy Salamis, thou shalt destroy the offspring of women,
When men scatter the seed, or when they gather the harvest."

This answer seemed, as indeed it was, gentler than the former one; so the envoys wrote it down, and went back with it to Athens. When, however, upon their arrival, they produced it before the people, and inquiry began to be made into its true meaning, many and various were the interpretations which men put on it; two, more especially, seemed to be directly opposed to one another. Certain of the old men were of opinion that the god meant to tell them the citadel would escape; for this was anciently defended by a palisade; and they supposed that barrier to be the "wooden wall" of the oracle. Others maintained that the fleet was what the god pointed at; and their advice was that nothing should be thought of except the ships, which had best be at once got ready. Still such as said the "wooden wall" meant the fleet, were perplexed by the last two lines of the oracle—

"Holy Salamis, thou shalt destroy the offspring of women,
When men scatter the seed, or when they gather the harvest."

These words caused great disturbance among those who took the wooden wall to be the ships; since the interpreters understood them to mean, that, if they made preparations for a sea fight, they would suffer a defeat off Salamis.

Now there was at Athens a man who had lately made his way into the first rank of citizens: his true name was Themistocles; but he was known more generally as the son of Neocles.[2] This man came forward and said, that the

[1] The mountain range between Bœotia and Attica.

[2] The practice of addressing persons by their fathers' names was common in Greece.

interpreters had not explained the oracle altogether aright — "for if," he argued, "the clause in question had really respected the Athenians, it would not have been expressed so mildly; the phrase used would have been 'Luckless Salamis,' rather than 'Holy Salamis,' had those to whom the island belonged been about to perish in its neighborhood. Rightly taken, the response of the god threatened the enemy, much more than the Athenians." He therefore counseled his countrymen to make ready to fight on board their ships, since *they* were the wooden wall in which the god told them to trust. When Themistocles had thus cleared the matter, the Athenians embraced his view, preferring it to that of the interpreters. The advice of these last had been against engaging in a sea fight; "all the Athenians could do," they said, "was, without lifting a hand in their defense, to quit Attica, and make a settlement in some other country."

Themistocles had before this given a counsel which prevailed very seasonably. The Athenians, having a large sum of money in their treasury, the produce of the mines at Laurion,[1] were about to share it among the full-grown citizens, who would have received ten drachmas apiece, when Themistocles persuaded them to forbear the distribution, and build with the money two hundred ships, to help them in their war against the Æginetans. It was the breaking out of the Æginetan war which was at this time the saving of Greece; for hereby were the Athenians forced to become a maritime power. The new ships were not used for the purpose for which they had been built, but became a help to Greece in her hour of need. And the Athenians had not only these vessels ready before the war, but they likewise set to work to build more; while they determined, in a

[1] Laurion was the name of the mountainous country immediately above Cape Colonna (Sunium). The silver mines, with which the whole tract abounded, had been worked from time immemorial. They belonged to the Athenian government and were an important source of revenue.

council which was held after the debate upon the oracle, that, according to the advice of the god, they would embark their whole force aboard their ships, and, with such Greeks as chose to join them, give battle to the barbarian invader.

63. The Contingents and Nations in Xerxes' Army

Herodotus, book VII, chaps. 60–83, passim

The Persians, unlike some other conquerors, were not unwilling to arm the subject populations, and use their contingents to swell their own host. The result was, that Xerxes commanded one of the most heterogeneous armies imaginable. As to the vast numbers given by Herodotus, one should consider that, (1) *before* the battles it would flatter the King's vanity to have his army represented as large as possible ; (2) *after* the battles the Greeks would exaggerate their enemies as much as possible. Every student is at liberty to attempt a guess as to the actual numbers, always remembering the difficulty of feeding a good-sized army in a relatively barren country like Greece.

What the exact number of troops of each nation was I cannot say with certainty — for it is not mentioned by any one — *but the whole land army together was found to amount to one million seven hundred thousand men.* The manner in which the numbering took place was the following. A body of ten thousand men was brought to a certain place, and the men were made to stand as close together as possible; after which a circle was drawn around them, and the men were let go: then where the circle had been, a fence was built about the height of a man's middle; and the inclosure was filled continually with fresh troops, till the whole army had in this way been numbered. When the numbering was over, the troops were drawn up according to their several nations.

Now these were the nations that took part in this expedition. The Persians, who wore on their heads the soft hat

called the tiara, and about their bodies, tunics with sleeves, of divers colors, having iron scales upon them like the scales of a fish. Their legs were protected by trousers; and they bore wicker shields for bucklers; their quivers hanging at their backs, and their arms being a short spear, a bow of uncommon size, and arrows of reed. They had likewise daggers suspended from their girdles along their right thighs. Otanes, the father of Xerxes' wife, Amestris, was their leader.

The Medes had exactly the same equipment as the Persians; and indeed the dress common to both is not so much Persian as Median. They had for commander Tigranes, of the race of the Achæmenids.

The Contingents from the Subject Peoples

The Cissians were equipped in the Persian fashion, except in one respect: they wore on their heads, instead of hats, fillets.

The Hyrcanians were likewise armed in the same way as the Persians.

The Assyrians went to the war with helmets upon their heads made of brass, and plaited in a strange fashion which it is not easy to describe. They carried shields, lances, and daggers very like the Egyptian; but in addition, they had wooden clubs knotted with iron, and linen corselets.

The Bactrians went to the war wearing a headdress very like the Median, but armed with bows of cane, after the custom of their country, and with short spears.

The Sacæ, or Scyths, were clad in trousers, and had on their heads tall stiff caps rising to a point. They bore the bow of their country and the dagger; besides which they carried the battle-ax, or *sagaris*.

The Indians wore cotton dresses, and carried bows of cane, and arrows also of cane with iron at the point.

The Arians carried Median bows, but in other respects were equipped like the Bactrians.

The Parthians and Chorasmians, with the Sogdians, the Gandarians, and the Dadicæ, had the Bactrian equipment in all respects.

The Sarangians had dyed garments which showed brightly, and buskins which reached to the knee: they bore Median bows, and lances.

The Arabians wore the *zeira*, or long cloak, fastened about them with a girdle; and carried at their right side long bows, which when unstrung bent backwards.

The Ethiopians were clothed in the skins of leopards and lions, and had long bows made of the stem of the palm leaf, not less than four cubits in length. On these they laid short arrows made of reed, and armed at the tip, not with iron, but with a piece of stone, sharpened to a point, of the kind used in engraving seals. They carried likewise spears, the head of which was the sharpened horn of an antelope; and in addition they had knotted clubs. When they went into battle they painted their bodies, half with chalk, and half with vermilion.

The Organization and the Life Guardsmen

Such were the nations who fought upon the dry land, and made up the infantry of the Persians. And they were commanded by the captains whose names have been above recorded. The marshaling and numbering of the troops had been committed to them; and by them were appointed the captains over a thousand, and the captains over ten thousand; but the leaders of ten men, or a hundred, were named by the captains over ten thousand.

The whole of the infantry was under the command of these generals, excepting the Ten Thousand. The Ten Thousand, who were all Persians and all picked men, were led by Hydarnes, the son of Hydarnes. They were called

"the Immortals," for the following reason. If one of their body failed either by the stroke of death or of disease, forthwith his place was filled up by another man, so that their number was at no time either greater or less than 10,000.

Of all the troops the Persians were adorned with the greatest magnificence, and they were likewise the most valiant. Besides their arms, which have been already described, they glittered all over with gold, vast quantities of which they wore about their persons. They were followed by litters, wherein rode their concubines, and by a numerous train of attendants handsomely dressed. Camels and sumpter beasts carried their provision, apart from that of the other soldiers.

[There was also a vast corps of cavalry sent by many different nations, and magnificently armed.]

64. How the Hellespont was bridged and how Xerxes marched forth from Sardis

Herodotus, book VII, chaps. 33-44

In 480 B.C. Xerxes began his march from Asia into Hellas. All the preparations for the invasion had been on such a vast scale, the resources of the greatest empire the world had hitherto seen had been drawn upon so amply, that the terrified Greeks had good cause to remind one another that the Great King "was not a god but only a man."

As afterward viewed by such persons as Herodotus, Xerxes' whole proceedings, the bridging of the Hellespont, the scourging of the sea, the digging of the Mount Athos Canal, the assembling of the vast host by land and water, were a challenge of overweening human pride to heaven: a challenge that provoked a terrible rebuke.

Xerxes, after this, made preparations to advance to Abydos, where the bridge across the Hellespont from Asia to Europe was lately finished. Midway between Sestos and Madytus

in the Hellespontine Chersonese, and right over against Abydos, there is a rocky tongue of land which runs out for some distance into the sea.

Towards this, then, the men to whom the business was assigned carried out a double bridge from Abydos; and while the Phœnicians constructed one line with cables of white flax, the Egyptians in the other used ropes made of papyrus. Now it is seven furlongs[1] across from Abydos to the opposite coast. When, therefore, the channel had been bridged successfully, it happened that a great storm arising broke the whole work to pieces, and destroyed all that had been done.

So when Xerxes heard of it he was full of wrath, and straightway gave orders that the Hellespont should receive three hundred lashes, and that a pair of fetters should be cast into it. Nay, I have even heard it said, that he bade the branders take their irons and therewith *brand* the Hellespont. It is certain that he commanded those who scourged the waters to utter, as they lashed them, these barbarian and wicked words: "Thou bitter water, thy lord lays on thee this punishment because thou hast wronged him without a cause, having suffered no evil at his hands. *Verily King Xerxes will cross thee, whether thou wilt or no!* Well dost thou deserve that no man should honor thee with sacrifice; for thou art of a truth a treacherous and unsavory river." While the sea was thus punished by his orders, he likewise commanded that the overseers of the work should lose their heads.

Then, they, whose business it was, executed the unpleasing task laid upon them; and other master builders were set over the work, who accomplished it in the way which I will now describe.

[1] Something less than a mile.

The Bridge across the Hellespont

They joined together triremes and penteconters, 360 to support the bridge on the side of the Euxine Sea, and 314 to sustain the other; and these they placed at right angles to the sea, and in the direction of the current of the Hellespont, relieving by these means the tension of the shore cables. Having joined the vessels, they moored them with anchors of unusual size, that the vessels of the bridge towards the Euxine might resist the winds which blow from within the straits, and that those of the more western bridge facing the Ægean might withstand the winds which set in from the south and from the southeast. A gap was left in the penteconters in no fewer than three places, to afford a passage for such light craft as chose to enter or leave the Euxine. When all this was done, they made the cables taut from the shore by the help of wooden capstans. This time, moreover, instead of using the two materials separately, they assigned to each bridge six cables, two of which were of white flax, while four were of papyrus. Both cables were of the same size and quality; but the flaxen were the heavier, weighing not less than a talent the cubit. When the bridge across the channel was thus complete, trunks of trees were sawn into planks, which were cut to the width of the bridge, and these were laid side by side upon the tightened cables, and then fastened on the top. This done, brushwood was brought, and arranged upon the planks, after which earth was heaped upon the brushwood, and the whole trodden down into a solid mass. Lastly a bulwark was set up on either side of this causeway, of such a height as to prevent the sumpter beasts and the horses from seeing over it and taking fright at the water.

And now when all was prepared, — the bridges, and the works at Athos, the breakwaters about the mouths of the cutting, which were made to hinder the surf from blocking

up the entrances, and the cutting itself; and when the news came to Xerxes that this last was completely finished, — then at length the host, having first wintered at Sardis, began its march towards Abydos, fully equipped, on the first approach of spring. At the moment of departure, the sun suddenly quitted his seat in the heavens, and disappeared, though there were no clouds in sight, but the sky was clear and serene. Day was thus turned into night; whereupon Xerxes, who saw and remarked the prodigy, was seized with alarm, and sending at once for the Magians, inquired of them the meaning of the portent. They replied — "God is foreshowing to the Greeks the destruction of their cities; for the sun foretells for them, and the moon for us." So Xerxes, thus instructed, proceeded on his way with great gladness of heart.

The Persian Order of March

First of all in the march went the baggage bearers, and the sumpter beasts, and then a vast crowd of many nations mingled together without any intervals, amounting to more than one half of the army. After these troops an empty space was left, to separate between them and the king. In front of the king went first a thousand horsemen, picked men of the Persian nation — then spearmen a thousand, likewise chosen troops, with their spearheads pointing towards the ground — next ten of the sacred horses called Nisæan, all daintily caparisoned. (Now these horses are called Nisæan, because they come from the Nisæan plain, a vast flat in Media, producing horses of unusual size.) After the ten sacred horses came the holy chariot of Zeus,[1] drawn by eight milk-white steeds, with the charioteer on foot behind them holding the reins; for no mortal is ever allowed to

[1] This does not mean that the Persians worshiped the same gods that the Greeks did, but merely shows the Greek custom of identifying foreign deities with their own. The god referred to is Ahura-Mazda.

mount into the car. Next to this came Xerxes, himself riding in a chariot drawn by Nisæan horses, with his charioteer, Patiramphes, the son of Otanes, a Persian, standing by his side.

Thus rode forth Xerxes from Sardis — but he was accustomed every now and then, when the fancy took him, to alight from his chariot and travel in a litter. Immediately behind the king there followed a body of a thousand spearmen, the noblest and bravest of the Persians, holding their lances in the usual manner — then came a thousand Persian horse, picked men — then ten thousand, picked also after the rest, and serving on foot. Of these last one thousand carried spears with golden pomegranates at their lower end instead of spikes; and these encircled the other nine thousand, who bore on their spears pomegranates of silver. The spearmen, too, who pointed their lances towards the ground had golden pomegranates; and the thousand Persians who followed close after Xerxes had golden apples. Behind the ten thousand footmen came a body of Persian cavalry, likewise ten thousand; after which there was again a void space for as much as two furlongs; and then the rest of the army followed in a confused crowd.

Arrived [at Abydos on the Hellespont], Xerxes wished to look upon all his host; so as there was a throne of white marble upon a hill near the city, which they of Abydos had prepared beforehand, by the king's bidding, for his especial use, Xerxes took his seat on it, and, gazing thence upon the shore below, beheld at one view all his land forces and all his ships. While thus employed, he felt a desire to behold a sailing match among his ships, which accordingly took place, and was won by the Phœnicians of Sidon, much to the joy of Xerxes, who was delighted alike with the race and with his army.

65. How the Greek Towns were forced to entertain Xerxes' Army

Herodotus, book VII, chaps. 118–120

What the Greek towns of Mysia, Troas, Thrace, Chalcidice, etc., had to undergo when Xerxes' host with its imperious lord descended upon them, is sufficiently shown in the following. Herodotus (an Asiatic Greek himself) had ample opportunity as a boy to hear of the waste and ruin spread by the expedition.

Now the Greeks, who had to feed the army and to entertain Xerxes, were brought thereby to the very extremity of distress, insomuch that some of them were forced even to forsake house and home. When the Thasians received and feasted the host, on account of their possessions upon the mainland, Antipater, the son of Orges, one of the citizens of best repute, and the man to whom the business was assigned, proved that the cost of the meal was four hundred talents of silver.[1]

And estimates almost to the same amount were made by the superintendents in other cities. For the entertainment, which had been ordered long beforehand and was reckoned to be of much consequence, was, in the manner of it, such as I will now describe. No sooner did the heralds who brought the orders give their message, than in every city the inhabitants made a division of their stores of corn, and proceeded to grind flour of wheat and of barley for many months together. Besides this, they purchased the best cattle that they could find, and fattened them; and fed poultry and waterfowl in ponds and buildings, to be in readiness for the army; while they likewise prepared gold and silver vases and drinking cups, and whatsoever else is needed for the service of the table. These last preparations were made for the king only, and those who sat at meat with him; for the rest of the army nothing was made ready

[1] Nearly half a million dollars.

beyond the food for which orders had been given. On the arrival of the Persians, a tent ready pitched for the purpose received Xerxes, who took his rest therein, while the soldiers remained under the open heaven. When the dinner hour came, great was the toil of those who entertained the army; while the guests ate their fill, and then, after passing the night at the place, tore down the royal tent next morning, and seizing its contents, carried them all off, leaving nothing behind.

On one of these occasions Megacreon of Abdêra wittily recommended his countrymen "to go to the temples in a body, men and women alike, and there take their station as suppliants, and beseech the gods that they would in future always spare them one half of the woes which might threaten their peace — thanking them at the same time very warmly for their past goodness *in that they had caused Xerxes to be content with only* ONE *meal in the day.*" For had the order been to provide breakfast for the king as well as dinner, the Abderites must either have fled before Xerxes came, or, if they awaited his coming, have been brought to absolute ruin.

66. How Xerxes dealt with the Greek Spies

Herodotus, book VII, chaps. 146-147

Xerxes was by no means lacking in a certain shrewdness, as is shown in the following anecdote. All we know of him shows him a man of very fair abilities and intentions, but these were direfully perverted by his being placed in a position of semidivine power, and by being constantly reminded that he was a demigod. Only a person of remarkable poise could have kept his moral balance under such circumstances.

[When the Greek deputies at Corinth had arranged that] the quarrels between the various Greek states should be made up, first of all they sent into Asia three men as spies. These men reached Sardis, and took note of the king's forces,

but, being discovered, were examined by order of the generals who commanded the land army, and, having been condemned to suffer death, were led out to execution. Xerxes, however, when the news reached him, disapproving the sentence of the generals, sent some of his bodyguard with instructions, if they found the spies still alive, to bring them into his presence. The messengers found the spies alive, and brought them before the king, who, when he heard the purpose for which they had come, gave orders to his guards to take them round the camp, and show them all the footmen and all the horse, letting them gaze at everything to their hearts' content; then, when they were satisfied, to send them away unharmed to whatever country they desired.

For these orders Xerxes gave afterwards the following reasons. "Had the spies been put to death," he said, "the Greeks would have continued ignorant of the vastness of his army, which surpassed the common report of it; while he would have done them a very small injury by killing three of their men. On the other hand, by the return of the spies to Greece, his power would become known; and the Greeks," he expected, "would make surrender of their freedom before he began his march, by which means his troops would be saved all the trouble of an expedition."

67. How Leonidas held the Pass of Thermopylæ

Herodotus, book VII, chaps. 201–212

Herodotus's story of the battle of Thermopylæ is one of the eternal classics, and needs no commentary to be read with enjoyment. The part given to Demaratus, the Spartan exile, is that of the unwelcome prophet of evil in the tragedy — to hint and foreshadow disaster to the man who seemed to be lifting his power among the gods: an effective touch characteristic of a writer who is almost more a poet than an historian.

King Xerxes pitched his camp in the region of Malis called Trachinie, while on their side the Greeks occupied the straits. These straits the Greeks in general call Thermopylæ (the Hot Gates); but the natives, and those who dwell in the neighborhood, call them Pylæ (the Gates). Here then the two armies took their stand; the one master of all the region lying north of Trachis, the other of the country extending southward of that place to the verge of the continent.

The Greeks who at this spot awaited the coming of Xerxes were the following: From Sparta, three hundred men-at-arms; from Arcadia, a thousand Tegeans and Mantineans, five hundred of each people; a hundred and twenty Orchomenians, from the Arcadian Orchomenus; and a thousand from other cities: from Corinth, four hundred men; from Phlius, two hundred; and from Mycenæ, eighty. Such was the number from the Peloponnese. There were also present, from Bœotia, seven hundred Thespians and four hundred Thebans.

Besides these troops, the Locrians of Opus and the Phocians had obeyed the call of their countrymen, and sent, the former all the force they had, the latter a thousand men. For envoys had gone from the Greeks at Thermopylæ among the Locrians and Phocians, to call on them for assistance, and to say — "They were themselves but the vanguard of the host, sent to precede the main body, which might every day be expected to follow them. The sea was in good keeping, watched by the Athenians, the Æginetans, and the rest of the fleet. There was no cause why they should fear; for after all the invader was not a god but a man; and there never had been, and never would be, a man who was not liable to misfortunes from the very day of his birth, and those misfortunes greater in proportion to his own greatness. The assailant, therefore, being only a mortal, must needs fall from his glory." Thus urged, the Locrians and the Phocians had come with their troops to Trachis.

The various nations had each captains of their own under whom they served; but the one to whom all especially looked up, and who had the command of the entire force, was the Lacedæmonian, Leonidas.

The force with Leonidas was sent forward by the Spartans in advance of their main body, that the sight of them might encourage the allies to fight, and hinder them from going over to the Medes, as it was likely they might have done had they seen that Sparta was backward. They intended presently, when they had celebrated the Carneian festival, which was what now kept them at home, to leave a garrison in Sparta, and hasten in full force to join the army. The rest of the allies also intended to act similarly; for it happened that the Olympic festival fell exactly at this same period. None of them looked to see the contest at Thermopylæ decided so speedily; wherefore they were content to send forward a mere advanced guard. Such accordingly were the intentions of the allies.

The Greek forces at Thermopylæ, when the Persian army drew near to the entrance of the pass, were seized with fear; and a council was held to consider about a retreat. It was the wish of the Peloponnesians generally that the army should fall back upon the Peloponnese, and there guard the Isthmus. But Leonidas, who saw with what indignation the Phocians and Locrians heard of this plan, gave his voice for remaining where they were, while they sent envoys to the several cities to ask for help, since they were too few to make a stand against an army like that of the Medes.

How Xerxes found the Greeks in the Pass

While this debate was going on, Xerxes sent a mounted spy to observe the Greeks, and note how many they were, and see what they were doing. He had heard, before he came out of Thessaly, that a few men were assembled at this place, and that at their head were certain Lacedæmoni-

ans, under Leonidas, a descendant of Heracles. The horseman rode up to the camp, and looked about him, but did not see the whole army; for such as were on the further side of the wall (which had been rebuilt and was now carefully guarded) it was not possible for him to behold; but he observed those on the outside, who were encamped in front of the rampart. It chanced that at this time the Lacedæmonians held the outer guard, and were seen by the spy, some of them engaged in gymnastic exercises, others combing their long hair. At this the spy greatly marveled, but he counted their number, and when he had taken accurate note of everything, he rode back quietly; for no one pursued after him, nor paid any heed to his visit. So he returned, and told Xerxes all that he had seen.

Upon this, Xerxes, who had no means of surmising the truth — namely, that the Spartans were preparing to do or die manfully — but thought it laughable that they should be engaged in such employments, sent and called to his presence Demaratus [1] the son of Ariston, who still remained with the army. When he appeared Xerxes told him all that he had heard, and questioned him concerning the news, since he was anxious to understand the meaning of such behavior on the part of the Spartans. Then Demaratus said: —

"I spake to thee, O king! concerning these men long since, when we had but just begun our march upon Greece; thou, however, didst only laugh at my words, when I told thee of all this, which I saw would come to pass. Earnestly do I struggle at all times to speak truth to thee, sire; and now listen to it once more. These men have come to dispute the pass with us; and it is for this that they are now making ready. 'Tis their custom, when they are about to hazard their lives, to adorn their heads with care. Be assured, however, that if thou canst subdue the men who are here and

[1] A former king of Sparta who had been deposed and driven from Greece by Cleomenes, the other king.

the Lacedæmonians who remain in Sparta, there is no other nation in all the world which will venture to lift a hand in their defense. Thou hast now to deal with the first kingdom and town in Greece, and with the bravest men."

Then Xerxes, to whom what Demaratus said seemed altogether to surpass belief, asked further, "how it was possible for so small an army to contend with his?"

"O king!" Demaratus answered, "let me be treated as a liar, if matters fall not out as I say."

How Leonidas repulsed the Persians

But Xerxes was not persuaded any the more. Four whole days he suffered to go by, expecting that the Greeks would run away. When, however, he found on the fifth that they were not gone, thinking that their firm stand was mere impudence and recklessness, he grew wroth, and sent against them the Medes and Cissians, with orders to take them alive and bring them into his presence. Then the Medes rushed forward and charged the Greeks, but fell in vast numbers: others, however, took the places of the slain, and would not be beaten off, though they suffered terrible losses. In this way it became clear to all, and especially to the king, that though he had plenty of combatants, he had but very few warriors. The struggle, however, continued during the whole day.

Then the Medes, having met so rough a reception, withdrew from the fight; and their place was taken by the band of Persians under Hydarnes, whom the king called his "Immortals":[1] they, it was thought, would soon finish the business. But when they joined battle with the Greeks, 'twas with no better success than the Median detachment — things went much as before — the two armies fighting in a narrow space, and the barbarians using shorter spears than the Greeks, and having no advantage from their num-

[1] See pp. 157, 158, for the character of this formidable bodyguard.

bers. The Lacedæmonians fought in a way worthy of note, and showed themselves far more skillful in fight than their adversaries, often turning their backs, and making as though they were all flying away, on which the barbarians would rush after them with much noise and shouting, when the Spartans at their approach would wheel round and face their pursuers, in this way destroying vast numbers of the enemy. Some Spartans likewise fell in these encounters, but only a very few. At last the Persians, finding that all their efforts to gain the pass availed nothing, and that, whether they attacked by divisions or in any other way, it was to no purpose, withdrew to their own quarters.

During these assaults, it is said that Xerxes, who was watching the battle, *thrice leaped from the throne on which he sate, in terror for his army.*

Next day the combat was renewed, but with no better success on the part of the barbarians. The Greeks were so few that the barbarians hoped to find them disabled, by reason of their wounds, from offering any further resistance; and so they once more attacked them. But the Greeks were drawn up in detachments according to their cities, and bore the brunt of the battle in turns, — all except the Phocians, who had been stationed on the mountain to guard the pathway. So, when the Persians found no difference between that day and the preceding, they again retired to their quarters.

68. How Leonidas and his Band perished at Thermopylæ

Herodotus, book VII, chaps. 213-228

After the events narrated in the last selection, Herodotus goes on to tell the story of the sacrifice of Leonidas and his Spartans, in a manner almost Homeric in its simple vividness.

Now, as the king was in a great strait, and knew not how he should deal with the emergency, Ephialtes, the

son of Eurydêmus, a man of Malis, came to him and was admitted to a conference. Stirred by the hope of receiving a rich reward at the king's hands, he had come to tell him of the pathway which led across the mountain to Thermopylæ; by which disclosure he brought destruction on the band of Greeks who had there withstood the barbarians. This Ephialtes afterwards, from fear of the Lacedæmonians, fled into Thessaly: [and a long time afterward, was killed in a private quarrel by an enemy]. . . .

Great was the joy of Xerxes on this occasion; and as he approved highly of the enterprise which Ephialtes undertook to accomplish, he forthwith sent upon the errand Hydarnes, and the Persians under him.[1] The troops left the camp about the time of the lighting of the lamps.

The Persians took this path, and, crossing the Asôpus, continued their march through the whole of the night, having the mountains of Œta on their right hand, and on their left those of Trachis. At dawn of day they found themselves close to the summit. Now the hill was guarded, as I have already said, by a thousand Phocian men-at-arms, who were placed there to defend the pathway, and at the same time to secure their own country. They had been given the guard of the mountain path, while the other Greeks defended the pass below, because they had volunteered for the service, and had pledged themselves to Leonidas to maintain the post.

[But alarmed by the Persians, and galled by their arrows, they retreated in cowardly fashion up the mountain slope, and left the path clear to Hydarnes.]

The Greeks learn that the Pass is Turned

The Greeks at Thermopylæ received the first warning of the destruction which the dawn would bring on them

[1] The 10,000 "Immortals."

from the seer Megistias, who read their fate in the victims as he was sacrificing. After this deserters came in, and brought the news that the Persians were marching round by the hills: it was still night when these men arrived. Last of all, the scouts came running down from the heights, and brought in the same accounts, when the day was just beginning to break. Then the Greeks held a council to consider what they should do, and here opinions were divided: some were strong against quitting their post, while others contended to the contrary. So when the council had broken up, part of the troops departed and went their ways homeward to their several states; part, however, resolved to remain, and to stand by Leonidas to the last.

It is said that Leonidas himself sent away the troops who departed, because he tendered their safety, but thought it unseemly that either he or his Spartans should quit the post which they had been especially sent to guard. For my own part, I incline to think that Leonidas gave the order, because he perceived the allies to be out of heart and unwilling to encounter the danger to which his own mind was made up. He therefore commanded them to retreat, but said that he himself could not draw back with honor; knowing that, if he stayed, glory awaited him, and that Sparta in that case would not lose her prosperity. For when the Spartans, at the very beginning of the war, sent to consult the oracle concerning it, the answer which they received from the Pythoness was, "that either Sparta must be overthrown by the barbarians, or one of her kings must perish."

So the allies, when Leonidas ordered them to retire, obeyed him and forthwith departed. Only the Thespians and the Thebans remained with the Spartans; and of these the Thebans were kept back by Leonidas as hostages, very much against their will. The Thespians, on the contrary, stayed entirely of their own accord, refusing to retreat,

and declaring that they would not forsake Leonidas and his followers. So they abode with the Spartans, and died with them Their leader was Demophilus, the son of Diadromes.

How Leonidas made his Last Stand

At sunrise Xerxes made libations, after which he waited until the time when the market is wont to fill,[1] and then began his advance. Ephialtes had instructed him thus, as the descent of the mountain is much quicker, and the distance much shorter, than the way round the hills, and the ascent. So the barbarians under Xerxes began to draw nigh; and the Greeks under Leonidas, as they now went north determined to die, advanced much farther than on previous days, until they reached the more open portion of the pass. Hitherto they had held their station within the wall, and from this had gone forth to fight at the point where the pass was the narrowest. Now they joined battle beyond the defile, and carried slaughter among the barbarians, who fell in heaps. Behind them the captains of the squadrons, armed with whips, urged their men forward with continual blows. Many were thrust into the sea, and there perished; a still greater number were trampled to death by their own soldiers; no one heeded the dying. For the Greeks, reckless of their own safety and desperate, since they knew that, as the mountain had been crossed, their destruction was nigh at hand, exerted themselves with the most furious valor against the barbarians.

By this time the spears of the greater number were all shivered, and with their swords they hewed down the ranks of the Persians; and here, as they strove, Leonidas fell fighting bravely, together with many other famous Spartans. There fell, too, at the same time very many famous Persians:

[1] Literally this would be translated "at the time of full market," which was the common expression among the Greeks to denote about 10.30 A.M.

among them, two sons of Darius, Abrocomes and Hyperanthes, his children by Phratagunê, the daughter of Artanes.

And now there arose a fierce struggle between the Persians and the Lacedæmonians over the body of Leonidas, in which the Greeks four times drove back the enemy, and at last by their great bravery succeeded in bearing off the body. This combat was scarcely ended when the Persians with Ephialtes approached; and the Greeks, informed that they drew nigh, made a change in the manner of their fighting. Drawing back into the narrowest part of the pass, and retreating even behind the cross wall, they posted themselves upon a hillock, where they stood all drawn up together in one close body, except only the Thebans. The hillock whereof I speak is at the entrance of the straits, where the stone lion stands which was set up in honor of Leonidas.

Here they defended themselves to the last, such as still had swords using them, and the others resisting with their hands and teeth; till the barbarians, who in part had pulled down the wall and attacked them in front, in part had gone round and now encircled them upon every side, overwhelmed and buried the remnant which was left beneath showers of missile weapons.

Thus nobly did the whole body of Lacedæmonians and Thespians behave; but nevertheless one man is said to have distinguished himself above all the rest, to wit, Diêneces the Spartan. A speech which he made before the Greeks engaged the Medes, remains on record. One of the Trachinians told him, "Such was the number of the barbarians, that when they shot forth their arrows the sun would be darkened by their multitude." Diêneces, not at all frightened at these words, but making light of the Median numbers, answered: "Our Trachinian friend brings us excellent tidings. *If the Medes darken the sun, we shall have our fight in the shade.*" . . .

[After the war had ended and the Hellenes had proved victorious,] the slain were buried where they fell; and in their honor, nor less in honor of those who died before Leonidas sent the allies away, an inscription was set up, which said: —

> "Here did four thousand men from Pelops' land
> Against three hundred myriads bravely stand."

This was in honor of all. Another was for the Spartans alone: —

> "Go, stranger, and to Lacedæmon tell
> That here, obeying her behests, we fell."

69. The Evacuation of Attica and the Mustering of the Greek Fleet

Herodotus, book VIII, chaps. 40–43

In a very few days after the forcing of Thermopylæ and the flight of the Greek ships from Eubœa, the Athenians completed this evacuation of Attica, before the Persians could enter the country. Probably a population of at least 250,000 had to be moved; and the whole process seems to have been conducted with remarkable skill and celerity. It called for a marvelous spirit of devotion and patriotism to be able thus to forsake farmsteads, city homes, temples, and a vast quantity of non-movable property, and go forth homeless, and not knowing whether they might ever return. Yet there seems to have been almost no suggestion of submission.

Meanwhile, the Grecian fleet, which had left Artemisium, proceeded to Salamis, at the request of the Athenians, and there cast anchor. The Athenians had begged them to take up this position, in order that they might convey their women and children out of Attica, and further might deliberate upon the course which it now behoved them to follow. Disappointed in the hopes which they had previously entertained, they were about to hold a council concerning the

present posture of their affairs. For they had looked to see the Peloponnesians drawn up in full force to resist the enemy in Bœotia, but found nothing of what they had expected; nay, they learnt that the Greeks of those parts, only concerning themselves about their own safety, were building a wall across the Isthmus, and intended to guard the Peloponnesus, and let the rest of Greece take its chance. These tidings caused them to make the request whereof I spoke, that the combined fleet should anchor at Salamis.

So while the rest of the fleet lay to off this island, the Athenians cast anchor along their own coast. Immediately upon their arrival, proclamation was made, that every Athenian should save his children and household as he best could; whereupon some sent their families to Ægina, some to Salamis, but the greater number to Trœzen. This removal was made with all possible haste, partly from a desire to obey the advice of the oracle, but still more for another reason. The Athenians say that they have in their Acropolis a huge serpent, which lives in the temple, and is the guardian of the whole place. Nor do they only say this, but, as if the serpent really dwelt there, every month they lay out its food, which consists of a honey cake. Up to this time the honey cake had always been consumed; but now it remained untouched. So the priestess told the people what had happened; whereupon they left Athens the more readily, since they believed that the goddess had already abandoned the citadel. As soon as all was removed, the Athenians sailed back to their station.

And now, the remainder of the Grecian sea force, hearing that the fleet which had been at Artemisium, was come to Salamis, joined it at that island from Trœzen — orders having been issued previously that the ships should muster at Pôgon, the port of the Trœzenians. The vessels collected were many more in number than those which had fought at Artemisium, and were furnished by more cities. The

admiral was the same who had commanded before, to wit, Eurybiades, the son of Eurycleides, who was a Spartan, but not of the family of the kings: the city, however, which sent by far the greatest number of ships, and the best sailors, was Athens.

[In all there were 378 triremes; whereof Athens sent 180; and the Spartans, though supplying the chief admiral, sent only 16.]

70. How Themistocles brought on the Battle of Salamis

Herodotus, book VIII, chaps. 49–82

The story of how Themistocles forced his reluctant allies to fight at Salamis will remain forever as the classic example of worldly cunning successfully applied. In Themistocles we seem to see again an incarnation of Odysseus, the typically Hellenic "hero of many devices," surpassing in plot and guile. By his message to the Persian admirals he brought on the battle which saved Hellas: yet in one sense the crowning part of his action was that if the Persians had been victorious he could have actually claimed *their* favor, as having made Xerxes' triumph possible.

When the captains from the various nations were come together at Salamis, a council of war was summoned; and Eurybiades proposed that any one who liked to advise, should say which place seemed to him the fittest, among those still in the possession of the Greeks, to be the scene of a naval combat. Attica, he said, was not to be thought of now; but he desired their counsel as to the remainder. The speakers mostly advised that the fleet should sail away to the Isthmus, and there give battle in defense of the Peloponnesus; and they urged as a reason for this, that if they were worsted in a sea fight at Salamis, they would be shut up in an island where they could get no help; but if they were beaten near the Isthmus, they could escape to their homes.

As the captains from the Peloponnesus were thus advising, there came an Athenian to the camp, who brought word that the barbarians had entered Attica, and were ravaging and burning everything. . . .

[The Greek admirals remained at Salamis until the Acropolis was taken, then they] no sooner heard what had befallen the Athenian citadel, than they fell into such alarm that some of the captains did not even wait for the council to come to a vote, but embarked hastily on board their vessels, and hoisted sail as though they would take to flight immediately. The rest, who stayed at the council board, came to a vote that the fleet should give battle at the Isthmus. Night now drew on; and the captains, dispersing from the meeting, proceeded on board their respective ships.

[On returning to his own vessel, however, Themistocles was met by a friend, who urged him at all hazards to induce Eurybiades, the Spartan high admiral, to fight; otherwise the Greek fleet would soon disperse, and all the national cause be lost.]

The suggestion greatly pleased Themistocles; and without answering a word, he went straight to the vessel of Eurybiades. Arrived there, he let him know that he wanted to speak with him on a matter touching the public service. So Eurybiades bade him come on board, and say whatever he wished. Then Themistocles, seating himself at his side, went over all the arguments [in favor of fighting at Salamis]. At last he persuaded Eurybiades, by his importunity, again to collect the captains to council.

The Arguments before the Spartan Admiral

As soon as they were come, and before Eurybiades had opened to them his purpose in assembling them together, Themistocles, as men are wont to do when they are very anxious, spoke much to divers of them; whereupon the Corinthian captain, Adeimantus, the son of Ocytus, observed

— "Themistocles, at the games they who start too soon are scourged." "True," rejoined the other in his excuse, "but they who wait too late are not crowned."

Thus he gave the Corinthian at this time a mild answer; and towards Eurybiades himself he did not now use any of those arguments which he had urged before, or say aught of the allies betaking themselves to flight if once they broke up from Salamis; it would have been ungraceful for him, when the confederates were present, to make accusation against any: but he had recourse to quite a new sort of reasoning, and addressed him as follows: —

"*With thee it rests, O Eurybiades! to save Greece,* if thou wilt only hearken unto me, and give the enemy battle here, rather than yield to the advice of those among us, who would have the fleet withdrawn to the Isthmus. Hear now, I beseech thee, and judge between the two courses. At the Isthmus thou wilt fight in an open sea, which is greatly to our disadvantage, since our ships are heavier and fewer in number than the enemy's; and further, thou wilt in any case lose Salamis, Megara, and Ægina, even if all the rest goes well with us. The land and sea force of the Persians will advance together; and thy retreat will but draw them towards the Peloponnesus, and so bring all Greece into peril. . . .

[Whereas at Salamis in the narrow straits the Greeks would be able to use their few ships to great advantage: and if the Greeks were victorious they would have forsaken no more territory to the enemy.]

When men counsel reasonably, reasonable success ensues; but when in their counsels they reject reason, God does not choose to follow the wanderings of human fancies."

When Themistocles had thus spoken, Adeimantus the Corinthian again attacked him, and bade him be silent, since he was a man without a city; at the same time he called on

Eurybiades not to put the question at the instance of one who had no country, and urged that Themistocles should show of what state he was envoy, before he gave his voice with the rest. This reproach he made, because the city of Athens had been taken, and was in the hands of the barbarians. Hereupon Themistocles spake many bitter things against Adeimantus and the Corinthians generally; and for proof that he had a country, reminded the captains, that with two hundred ships[1] at his command, all fully manned for battle, he had both city and territory as good as theirs; since there was no Grecian state which could resist his men if they were to make a descent.

After this declaration, he turned to Eurybiades, and addressing him with still greater warmth and earnestness — "If thou wilt stay here," he said, "and behave like a brave man, all will be well — if not, thou wilt bring Greece to ruin. For the whole fortune of the war depends on our ships. Be thou persuaded by my words. If not, we will take our families on board, and go, just as we are, to Siris, in Italy, which is ours from of old, and which the prophecies declare we are to colonize some day or other. You then, when you have lost allies like us, will hereafter call to mind what I have now said."

At these words of Themistocles, Eurybiades changed his determination; principally, as I believe, because he feared that if he withdrew the fleet to the Isthmus, the Athenians would sail away, and knew that without the Athenians, the rest of their ships could be no match for the fleet of the enemy. He therefore decided to remain, and give battle at Salamis.

And now, the different chiefs, notwithstanding their skirmish of words, on learning the decision of Eurybiades, at once made ready for the fight. Morning broke; and, just as the sun rose, the shock of an earthquake was felt

[1] This would imply about 40,000 men.

both on shore and at sea: whereupon the Greeks resolved to approach the gods with prayer, and likewise to send and invite the Æacids to their aid. And this they did, with as much speed as they had resolved on it. Prayers were offered to all the gods; and Telamon and Ajax were invoked at once from Salamis, while a ship was sent to Ægina, to Æacus himself, and the other Æacids.[1]

[Meantime in Xerxes' council of war the general vote had been to meet the Greek fleet in battle, although Artemisia, queen of Halicarnassus, expressed doubts as to the result. The Persians spent the night preparing most confidently for the battle, while the Greeks were in keen distress and alarm, especially the Peloponnesians. So little confidence was there in their fleet, that the Peloponnesians were striving desperately to build a wall across the Isthmus at Corinth to halt the further advance of the Barbarians.]

So the Greeks at the Isthmus toiled unceasingly, as though in the greatest peril; since they never imagined that any great success would be gained by the fleet. The Greeks at Salamis, on the other hand, when they heard what the rest were about, felt greatly alarmed; but their fear was not so much for themselves as for the Peloponnesus. At first they conversed together in low tones, each man with his fellow, secretly, and marveled at the folly shown by Eurybiades; but presently the smothered feeling broke out, and another assembly was held; whereat the old subjects provoked much talk from the speakers, one side maintaining that it was best to sail to the Peloponnesus and risk battle for that, instead of abiding at Salamis and fighting for a land already taken by the enemy; while the other, which consisted of the Athenians, Æginetans, and Megarians, was urgent to remain and have the battle fought where they were.

[1] The most famous of this line of mythical heroes was Achilles.

Themistocles's Message to the Persians

Then Themistocles, when he saw that the Peloponnesians would carry the vote against him, went out secretly from the council, and, instructing a certain man what he should say, sent him on board a merchant ship to the fleet of the Medes. The man's name was Sicinnus; he was one of Themistocles's household slaves, and acted as tutor to his sons; in after times, when the Thespians were admitting persons to citizenship Themistocles made him a Thespian, and a rich man to boot. The ship brought Sicinnus to the Persian fleet, and there he delivered his message to the leaders in these words: —

"The Athenian commander has sent me to you privily, without the knowledge of the other Greeks. He is a well-wisher to the king's cause, and would rather success should attend on you than on his countrymen; wherefore he bids me to tell you that fear has seized the Greeks and they are meditating a hasty flight. Now then it is open to you to achieve the best work that ever ye wrought, if only ye will hinder their escaping. They no longer agree among themselves, so that they will not now make any resistance — nay, 'tis likely ye may see a fight already begun between such as favor and such as oppose your cause." The messenger, when he had thus expressed himself, departed and was seen no more.

Then the captains, believing all that the messenger had said, proceeded to land a large body of Persian troops on the islet of Psyttaleia, which lies between Salamis and the mainland; after which, about the hour of midnight, they advanced their western wing towards Salamis, so as to inclose the Greeks. At the same time the force stationed about Ceos and Cynosura moved forward, and filled the whole strait as far as Munychia with their ships. This advance was made to prevent the Greeks from escaping by

flight, and to block them up in Salamis, where it was thought that vengeance might be taken upon them for the battles fought near Artemisium. The Persian troops were landed on the islet of Psyttaleia, because, as soon as the battle began, the men and wrecks were likely to be drifted thither, as the isle lay in the very path of the coming fight, — and they would thus be able to save their own men and destroy those of the enemy. All these movements were made in silence, that the Greeks might have no knowledge of them; and they occupied the whole night, so that the men had no time to get their sleep.

The Greek Captains learn that they are Entrapped

Meanwhile, among the captains at Salamis, the strife of words grew fierce. As yet they did not know that they were encompassed, but imagined that the barbarians remained in the same places where they had seen them the day before.

In the midst of their contention, Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, who had crossed from Ægina, arrived in Salamis. He was an Athenian, and had been ostracized by the commonalty; yet I believe, from what I have heard concerning his character, that there was not in all Athens a man so worthy or so just as he. He now came to the council, and, standing outside, called for Themistocles. Now Themistocles was not his friend, but his most determined enemy. However, under the pressure of the great dangers impending, Aristides forgot their feud, and called Themistocles out of the council, since he wished to confer with him. He had heard before his arrival of the impatience of the Peloponnesians to withdraw the fleet to the Isthmus. As soon therefore as Themistocles came forth, Aristides addressed him in these words: —

"Our rivalry at all times, and especially at the present season, ought to be a struggle, which of us shall most advantage our country. Let me then say to thee, that so far

as regards the departure of the Peloponnesians from this place, much talk and little will be found precisely alike. I have seen with my own eyes that which I now report: that, however much the Corinthians or Eurybiades himself may wish it, they cannot now retreat; for we are inclosed on every side by the enemy. Go in to them, and make this known."

"Thy advice is excellent," answered the other; "and thy tidings are also good. That which I earnestly desired to happen, thine eyes have beheld accomplished. Know that what the Medes have now done was at my instance; for it was necessary, as our men would not fight here of their own free will, to make them fight whether they would or no. But come now, as thou hast brought the good news, go in and tell it. For if I speak to them, they will think it a feigned tale, and will not believe that the barbarians have inclosed us around. Therefore do thou go to them, and inform them how matters stand. If they believe thee, 'twill be for the best; but if otherwise, it will not harm. For it is impossible that they should now flee away, if we are indeed shut in on all sides, as thou sayest."

Then Aristides entered the assembly, and spoke to the captains: he had come, he told them, from Ægina, and had but barely escaped the blockading vessels — the Greek fleet was entirely inclosed by the ships of Xerxes — and he advised them to get themselves in readiness to resist the foe. Having said so much, he withdrew. And now another contest arose; for the greater part of the captains would not believe the tidings.

But while they still doubted, a Tenian trireme, commanded by Panætius the son of Sôsimenes, deserted from the Persians and joined the Greeks, bringing full intelligence. For this reason the Tenians were inscribed upon the tripod at Delphi among those who overthrew the barbarians. With this ship, which deserted to their side at Salamis, and

the Lemnian vessel which came over before at Artemisium, the Greek fleet was brought to the full number of 380 ships; otherwise it fell short by two of that amount.

71. The Battle of Salamis

Herodotus, book VIII, chaps. 83 ff.

The date of the battle of Salamis is set by modern writers at about the 20th of September, 480 B.C. Although the Phœnician sailors in the Persian armada were excellent naval fighters, probably the rest of the crews were inferior; and very few native Persians could have been on board the ships — saving perhaps the admirals and their suites. The Greeks fought as desperate men at bay, with their all at stake. The wind, the position, the handier build of their vessels, — everything, in short, — favored them. The result could not have been very long doubtful.

The Greeks not doubting at last what they had been told, made ready to fight. At dawn all the marines[1] were assembled, and speeches made to them. Of these the best was by Themistocles: who throughout contrasted things noble and things base, and bade them, so far as lay in human powers, *always* to choose the nobler part. Thus winding up his discourse, he bade them board their ships, and so they did.

Scarce had the fleet quitted the land when they were attacked by the barbarians. At once most of the Greeks began to backwater, and were about touching the shore, when Ameinias of Pallêné,[2] one of the Athenian captains, darted forth in front of the line, and charged a ship of the enemy. The two vessels became entangled, and could not separate, whereupon the rest of the fleet came up to help Ameinias, and engaged with the Persians. Such is the account which the Athenians give of the way in which the battle began; but the Æginetans maintain that the vessel which had been

[1] The heavy infantry serving on each trireme.

[2] Pallêné was one of the most famous of the Athenian country towns.

to Ægina for the Æacidæ, was the one that brought on the fight. It is also reported that a phantom in the form of a woman appeared to the Greeks, and, in a voice that was heard from end to end of the fleet, cheered them on to the fight; first, however, rebuking them, and saying — "Strange men, how long are ye going to backwater?"

How the Battle was Joined

Against the Athenians, who held the western extremity of the line towards Eleusis, were placed the Phœnicians; against the Lacedæmonians, whose station was eastward towards the Piræus,[1] the Ionians. Of these last a few only followed the advice of Themistocles, to fight backwardly; the greater number did far otherwise: and I could mention here the names of many trierarchs who took vessels from the Greeks.

Far the greater number of the Persian ships engaged in this battle were disabled, either by the Athenians or by the Æginetans. For as the Greeks fought in order and kept their line, while the barbarians were in confusion and had no plan in anything that they did, the issue of the battle could scarce be other than it was. Yet the Persians fought far more bravely here than at Eubœa, and indeed surpassed themselves; each did his utmost through fear of Xerxes, for each thought that the king's eye was upon himself.[2]

What part the several nations, whether Greek or barbarian, took in the combat, I am not able to say for certain; Artemisia, however, I know, distinguished herself in such a way as raised her even higher than she stood before in the esteem of the king. For after confusion had spread throughout the whole of the king's fleet, and her ship was closely pursued by an Athenian trireme, she, having no way to fly,

[1] The harbor of Athens.

[2] The anger of Xerxes led to very serious consequences; compare page 188.

since in front of her were a number of friendly vessels, and she was nearest of all the Persians to the enemy, resolved on a measure which in fact proved her safety. Pressed by the Athenian pursuer, she bore straight against one of the ships of her own party, a Calyndian, which had Damasithymus, the Calyndian king, himself on board. I cannot say whether she had had any quarrel with the man while the fleet was at the Hellespont, or no, — neither can I decide whether she of set purpose attacked his vessel, or whether it merely chanced that the Calyndian ship came in her way, — but certain it is that she bore down upon his vessel and sank it, and that thereby she had the good fortune to procure herself a double advantage. For the commander of the Athenian trireme, when he saw her bear down on one of the enemy's fleet, thought immediately that her vessel was a Greek, or else had deserted from the Persians, and was now fighting on the Greek side; he therefore gave up the chase, and turned away to attack others.

Thus in the first place she saved her life by the action, and was enabled to get clear off from the battle; while further, it fell out that in the very act of doing the king an injury she raised herself to a greater height than ever in his esteem. For as Xerxes beheld the fight, he remarked (it is said) the destruction of the vessel, whereupon the bystanders observed to him — "Seest thou, master, how well Artemisia fights, and how she has just sunk a ship of the enemy?" Then Xerxes asked if it were really Artemisia's doing; and they answered, "Certainly; for they knew her ensign": while all made sure that the sunken vessel belonged to the opposite side. Everything, it is said, conspired to prosper the queen — it was especially fortunate for her that not one of those on board the Calyndian ship survived to become her accuser. Xerxes, they say, in reply to the remarks made to him, observed — "*My men have behaved like women, my women like men!*"

Incidents of the Persian Disaster

There fell in this combat Ariabignes, one of the chief commanders of the fleet, who was son of Darius and brother of Xerxes; and with him perished a vast number of men of high repute, Persians, Medes, and allies. Of the Greeks there died only a few; for, as they were able to swim, all those that were not slain outright by the enemy escaped from the sinking vessels and swam across to Salamis. But on the side of the barbarians more perished by drowning than in any other way, since they did not know how to swim. The great destruction took place when the ships which had been first engaged began to fly; for they who were stationed in the rear, anxious to display their valor before the eyes of the king, made every effort to force their way to the front, and thus became entangled with such of their own vessels as were retreating.

In this confusion the following event occurred: Certain Phœnicians belonging to the ships which had thus perished made their appearance before the king, and laid the blame of their loss on the Ionians, declaring that they were traitors, and had willfully destroyed the vessels. But the upshot of this complaint was, that the Ionian captains escaped the death which threatened them, while their Phœnician accusers received death as their reward. For it happened that, exactly as they spoke, a Samothracian vessel bore down on an Athenian and sank it, but was attacked and crippled immediately by one of the Æginetan squadron. Now the Samothracians were expert with the javelin, and aimed their weapons so well, that they cleared the deck of the vessel which had disabled their own, after which they sprang on board, and took it. This saved the Ionians. Xerxes, when he saw the exploit, turned fiercely on the Phœnicians — (he was ready, in his extreme vexation, to find fault with any one) — and ordered their heads to be cut off, to prevent

them, he said, from casting the blame of their own misconduct upon braver men. During the whole time of the battle Xerxes sate at the base of the hill called Ægaleôs, over against Salamis; and whenever he saw any of his own captains perform any worthy exploit he inquired concerning him; and the man's name was taken down by his scribes, together with the names of his father and his city.

When the rout of the barbarians began, and they sought to make their escape to Phalêrum, the Æginetans, awaiting them in the channel, performed exploits worthy to be recorded. Through the whole of the confused struggle the Athenians employed themselves in destroying such ships as either made resistance or fled to shore, while the Æginetans dealt with those which endeavored to escape down the strait; so that the Persian vessels were no sooner clear of the Athenians than forthwith they fell into the hands of the Æginetan squadron. Such of the barbarian vessels as escaped from the battle fled to Phalêrum, and there sheltered themselves under the protection of the land army.

The Greeks who gained the greatest glory of all in the sea fight off Salamis were the Æginetans, and after them the Athenians. The individuals of most distinction were Polycritus the Æginetan, and two Athenians, Eumenes of Anagyrus, and Ameinias of Pallêné; the latter of whom had pressed Artemisia so hard. And assuredly, if he had known that the vessel carried Artemisia on board, he would never have given over the chase till he had either succeeded in taking her, or else been taken himself. For the Athenian captains had received special orders touching the queen; and moreover a reward of ten thousand drachmas[1] had been proclaimed for any one who should make her prisoner; since there was great indignation felt that a woman should appear in arms against Athens. However, as I said before, she escaped; and so did some others whose ships survived

[1] About $1800.

the engagement; and these were all now assembled at the port of Phalêrum.

In the midst of the confusion Aristides, son of Lysimachus, the Athenian, of whom I lately spoke as a man of the greatest excellence, performed the following service. He took a number of the Athenian heavy-armed troops, who had previously been stationed along the shore of Salamis, and, landing with them on the islet of Psyttaleia, slew all the Persians by whom it was occupied.

72. The Answer the Athenians gave the Persian Envoy before the Battle of Platæa

Herodotus, book VIII, chap. 143

After the triumph at Salamis the spirit of the Athenians rose higher than ever, as is evinced by the following.

The Athenians returned this answer to Alexander [king of Macedon, who was acting as the Persian emissary, and who had urged submission on very favorable terms]: —

"We know, as well as thou dost, that the power of the Mede is many times greater than our own: we did not need to have *that* cast in our teeth. Nevertheless, we cling so to freedom that we shall offer what resistance we may. Seek not to persuade us into making terms with the barbarian — say what thou wilt, thou wilt never gain our assent. Return rather at once, and tell Mardonius that our answer to him is this: 'So long as the sun keeps his present course, we will never join alliance with Xerxes. Nay, we shall oppose him unceasingly, trusting in the aid of those gods and heroes whom he has lightly esteemed, whose houses and whose images he has burnt with fire.' And come not thou again to us with words like these; nor, thinking to do us a service, persuade us to unholy actions."

73. The Battle of Platæa

Herodotus, book IX, chaps. 52–70

The battle of Platæa (479 B.C.) was won by the Lacedæmonian and Athenian hoplites practically alone, without the aid of the very motley host of allies from the smaller states. The difficulty seems to have been to induce Mardonius to fight on ground favorable for the evolutions of the Greek heavy infantry. He had been pursuing a harassing policy, using his superior cavalry to cut off the Greeks' supplies, and retreating within his fortified camp. To change this, Pausanias and his allies resolved to retreat to the hills; but the movement was delayed in the night, and morning found the Greek army scattered dangerously over the plain. It was then Mardonius committed his blunder of underestimating the fighting power of the Spartan and Athenian infantry *alone*, and hastened out to attack them. Never was the Spartan discipline better vindicated than in the spear-press at Platæa.

Having made these resolves, they continued during that whole day to suffer beyond measure from the attacks of the Persian horse. At length when towards dusk the attacks of the horse ceased, and, night having closed in, the hour arrived at which the army was to commence its retreat, the greater number struck their tents and began the march towards the rear. They were not minded, however, to make for the place agreed upon; but in their anxiety to escape from the Persian horse, no sooner had they begun to move than they fled straight to Platæa, where they took post at the temple of Hera, which lies outside the city, at the distance of about twenty furlongs from Gargaphia; and here they pitched their camp in front of the sacred building.

As soon as Pausanias saw a portion of the troops in motion, he issued orders to the Lacedæmonians to strike their tents and follow those who had been the first to depart, supposing that they were on their march to the place agreed upon. All the captains but one were ready to obey his orders: Amom-

pharetus, however, the son of Poliadas, who was leader of the Pitanate cohort, refused to move, saying, "He for one would not fly from the strangers, or of his own will bring disgrace upon Sparta." It had happened that he was absent from the former conference of the captains; and so what was now taking place astonished him. Pausanias and Euryanax thought it a monstrous thing that Amompharetus would not hearken to them; but considered that it would be yet more monstrous, if, when he was so minded, they were to leave the Pitanates to their fate; seeing that, if they forsook them to keep their agreement with the other Greeks, Amompharetus and those with him might perish. On this account, therefore, they kept the Lacedæmonian force in its place, and made every endeavor to persuade Amompharetus that he was wrong to act as he was doing.

The Athenians halt on the March

While the Spartans were engaged in these efforts to turn Amompharetus — the only man unwilling to retreat either in their own army or in that of the Tegeans — the Athenians on their side did as follows. Knowing that it was the Spartan temper to say one thing and do another, they remained quiet in their station until the army began to retreat, when they dispatched a horseman to see whether the Spartans really meant to set forth, or whether after all they had no intention of moving. The horseman was also to ask Pausanias what he wished the Athenians to do.

The herald on his arrival found the Lacedæmonians drawn up in their old position, and their leaders quarreling with one another. Pausanias and Euryanax had gone on urging Amompharetus not to endanger the lives of his men by staying behind while the others drew off, but without succeeding in persuading him; until at last the dispute had waxed hot between them just at the moment when the Athenian herald arrived. At this point Amompharetus,

who was still disputing, took up with both his hands a vast rock, and placed it at the feet of Pausanias, saying — "With this pebble I give my vote not to run away from the strangers." [By "strangers" he meant barbarians.] Pausanias, in reply, called him a fool and a madman, and, turning to the Athenian herald, who had made the inquiries with which he was charged, bade him tell his countrymen how he was occupied, and ask them to approach nearer, and retreat or not according to the movements of the Spartans.

Pausanias at last falls Back

So the herald went back to the Athenians; and the Spartans continued to dispute till morning began to dawn upon them. Then Pausanias, who as yet had not moved, gave the signal for retreat — expecting (and rightly, as the event proved) that Amompharetus, when he saw the rest of the Lacedæmonians in motion, would be unwilling to be left behind. No sooner was the signal given than all the army except the Pitanates began their march, and retreated along the line of the hills, the Tegeans accompanying them. The Athenians likewise set off in good order, but proceeded by a different way from the Lacedæmonians. For while the latter clung to the hilly ground and the skirts of Mount Cithæron, on account of the fear which they entertained of the enemy's horse, the former betook themselves to the low country and marched through the plain.

As for Amompharetus, at first he did not believe that Pausanias would really dare to leave him behind; he therefore remained firm in his resolve to keep his men at their post; when, however, Pausanias and his troops were now some way off, Amompharetus, thinking himself forsaken in good earnest, ordered his band to take their arms, and led them at a walk towards the main army. Now the army was waiting for them at a distance of about ten furlongs, having halted upon the river Moloies at a place called Agri-

opius, where stands a temple of the Eleusinian Demeter. They had stopped here, that, in case Amompharetus and his band should refuse to quit the spot where they were drawn up, and should really not stir from it, they might have it in their power to move back and lend them assistance. Amompharetus, however, and his companions rejoined the main body; and at the same time the whole mass of the barbarian cavalry arrived and began to press hard upon them. The horsemen had followed their usual practice and ridden up to the Greek camp, when they discovered that the place where the Greeks had been posted hitherto was deserted. Hereupon they pushed forward without stopping, and, as soon as they overtook the enemy, pressed heavily on them.

Mardonius falls on the Spartans

Mardonius, when he heard that the Greeks had retired under cover of the night, and beheld the place where they had been stationed, empty, crossed the Asôpus, and led the Persians forward at a run directly upon the track of the Greeks, whom he believed to be in actual flight. He could not see the Athenians; for as they had taken the way of the plain, they were hidden from his sight by the hills; he therefore led on his troops against the Lacedæmonians and the Tegeans only. When the commanders of the other divisions of the barbarians saw the Persians pursuing the Greeks so hastily, they all forthwith seized their standards, and hurried after at their best speed in great disorder and disarray. On they went with loud shouts and in a wild rout, thinking to swallow up the runaways.

Meanwhile Pausanias had sent a horseman to the Athenians, at the time when the cavalry first fell upon him, [begging for their immediate help since the other allied Greeks were far to the rear].

The Athenians, as soon as they received this message,

were anxious to go to the aid of the Spartans, and to help them to the uttermost of their power; but, as they were upon the march, the Greeks on the king's side, whose place in the line had been opposite theirs, fell upon them, and so harassed them by their attacks that it was not possible for them to give the succor they desired. Accordingly the Lacedæmonians, and the Tegeans — whom nothing could induce to quit their side — were left alone to resist the Persians. Including the light-armed, the number of the former was 50,000,[1] while that of the Tegeans was 3000. Now, therefore, as they were about to engage with Mardonius and the troops under him, they made ready to offer sacrifice. The victims, however, for some time were not favorable; and, during the delay, many fell on the Spartan side, and a still greater number were wounded. For the Persians had made a rampart of their wicker shields, and shot from behind them such clouds of arrows that the Spartans were sorely distressed. The victims continued unpropitious; till at last Pausanias raised his eyes to the Heræum of the Platæans, and calling the goddess to his aid, besought her not to disappoint the hopes of the Greeks.

Pausanias overthrows the Persians

As he offered his prayer, the Tegeans, advancing before the rest, rushed forward against the enemy; and the Lacedæmonians, who had obtained favorable omens the moment that Pausanias prayed, at length, after their long delay, advanced to the attack; while the Persians, on their side, left shooting, and prepared to meet them. And first the combat was at the wicker shields. Afterwards, when these were

[1] If we accept the estimates given elsewhere in Herodotus, the bulk of the Spartan force was made up of the light-armed Helots of very little value in actual battle. Pausanias seems to have had only 10,000 Lacedæmonian hoplites behind him in this last desperate grapple for the life or death of Hellas.

swept down, a fierce contest took place by the side of the temple of Demeter, which lasted long, and ended in a hand-to-hand struggle. The barbarians many times seized hold of the Greek spears and brake them; for in boldness and warlike spirit the Persians were not a whit inferior to the Greeks; but they were without bucklers, untrained, and far below the enemy in respect of skill in arms. Sometimes singly, sometimes in bodies of ten, now fewer and now more in number, they dashed forward upon the Spartan ranks, and so perished.

The fight went most against the Greeks, where Mardonius, mounted upon a white horse, and surrounded by the bravest of all the Persians, the thousand picked men, fought in person. So long as Mardonius was alive, this body resisted all attacks, and, while they defended their own lives, struck down no small number of Spartans; but after Mardonius fell, and the troops with him, which were the main strength of the army, perished, the remainder yielded to the Lacedæmonians, and took to flight. Their light clothing, and want of bucklers, were of the greatest hurt to them; for they had to contend against men heavily armed, while they themselves were without any such defense.

Then did Pausanias, the son of Cleombrotus, and grandson of Anaxandridas (I omit to recount his other ancestors, since they are the same with those of Leonidas), *win a victory exceeding in glory all those to which our knowledge extends.*

The Persians, as soon as they were put to flight by the Lacedæmonians, ran hastily away, without preserving any order, and took refuge in their own camp, within the wooden defense which they had raised in the Theban territory.

[The Persian rear guard under Artabazus never came into action at all, but saved itself by a precipitate retreat to the Hellespont and Asia.]

As for the Greeks upon the king's side, while most of them played the coward purposely, the Bœotians, on the contrary, had a long struggle with the Athenians. Those of the Thebans who were attached to the Medes, displayed especially no little zeal; far from playing the coward, they fought with such fury that three hundred of the best and bravest among them were slain by the Athenians in this passage of arms. But at last they, too, were routed, and fled away — not, however, in the same direction as the Persians and the crowd of allies, who, having taken no part in the battle, ran off without striking a blow — but to the city of Thebes.

The Storming of the Camp

The Persians, and the multitude with them, who fled to the wooden fortress, were able to ascend into the towers before the Lacedæmonians came up. Thus placed, they proceeded to strengthen the defenses as well as they could; and when the Lacedæmonians arrived, a sharp fight took place at the rampart. So long as the Athenians were away, the barbarians kept off their assailants, and had much the best of the combat, since the Lacedæmonians were unskilled in the attack of walled places,[1] but on the arrival of the Athenians, a more violent assault was made, and the wall was for a long time attacked with fury. In the end the valor of the Athenians and their perseverance prevailed — they gained the top of the wall, and, breaking a breach through it, enabled the Greeks to pour in. The first to enter here were the Tegeans, and they it was who plundered the tent of Mardonius, where among other booty, they found the manger from which his horses ate, all made of solid brass, and well worth looking at. As soon as the wall was broken down, the barbarians no longer kept together in any array,

[1] The inability to conduct sieges is one of the most striking features of the Spartan military character. The Athenian skill contrasted remarkably with the Spartan inefficiency.

nor was there one among them who thought of making further resistance — in good truth, they were all half dead with fright, huddled as so many thousands were into so narrow and confined a space. With such tameness did they submit to be slaughtered by the Greeks, that of the 300,000 men who composed the army — omitting the 40,000 by whom Artabazus was accompanied in his flight — no more than 3000 outlived the battle.[1] Of the Lacedæmonians from Sparta there perished in this combat ninety-one; of the Tegeans, sixteen; of the Athenians, fifty-two.

[1] Rational criticism of course reduces the proportions of this horrible slaughter. It is improbable that Mardonius ever had 300,000 men: and extremely likely that a great many Asiatics escaped homeward, as scattered fugitives.

CHAPTER VII

THE GOLDEN AGE OF ATHENS

The Persian War left its legacy in the vigor, pride, and triumphant enthusiasm which it infused into Athens. Part of this energy expended itself in military conquest; a still larger part found its realization in artistic, literary, and intellectual achievements such as no later people, however numerous, have equaled within anything like the same interval of time. To select passages from the ancient authors to illustrate "The Age of Pericles" and the years which preceded it and followed, has proved highly difficult — so much of prime value must in any case be omitted.

In this chapter the first set of extracts pertains to the rise of the Athenian Empire; then follow a few readings from the master historian Thucydides to illustrate the nicely poised vigor of his style as distinguished from the charming garrulity of Herodotus, and also to illumine a few notable incidents in that fateful Peloponnesian War in which the imperial glory of Athens was shipwrecked. Finally there are included a number of passages from various quarters illustrating the civic, intellectual, and private activities of the Athenians at the time their civilization was at its height. Some of these passages relate to the fourth century B.C., but conditions usually were not so altered as to render them valueless also for understanding the fifth century.

74. The Manners and Personal Traits of Cimon

Plutarch, "Life of Cimon," chaps. X–XI

After the great Persian invasion, and especially following the death of Aristides and the waning of the influence of Themistocles, the leading public man of Athens for some time was undoubtedly

Cimon, the son of Miltiades, the victor of Marathon. Although by no means an ideal leader, he long kept the hearts of the Athenian people, thanks to his brilliant campaigns against the Persians. The rise to prominence of Pericles, and the growth of an intense jealousy between Athens and Sparta, despite the fact that Cimon had done everything possible to promote their friendship, at length undermined his influence.

Cimon grew rich, and what he gained from the barbarians with honor, he spent yet more honorably upon the citizens. For he pulled down all the inclosures of his gardens and grounds, that strangers, and the needy of his fellow citizens, might gather of his fruits freely. At home, he kept a table, plain, but sufficient for a considerable number, to which any poor townsman had free access, and so might support himself without labor, with his whole time left free for public duties. Aristotle states, however, that this reception did not extend to all the Athenians, but only to his own fellow townsmen, the Laciadæ.[1] Besides this, he always went attended by two or three young companions, very well clad; and if he met with an elderly citizen in a poor habit, one of these would change clothes with the decayed citizen, which was looked upon as very nobly done. He enjoined them, likewise, to carry a considerable quantity of coin about them, which they were to convey silently into the hands of the better class of poor men, as they stood by them in the market place. . . .

But Cimon's generosity outdid all the old Athenian hospitality and good nature. For though it is the city's boast that their forefathers taught the rest of Greece to sow corn, and how to use springs of water, and to kindle fire, yet Cimon, by keeping open house for his fellow citizens, and giving travelers liberty to eat the fruits which the several seasons produced in his land, seemed to restore to the world that community of goods which mythology says existed in

[1] Cimon appears to have belonged to the "deme" or township of Lacia.

the reign of Saturn. Those who object to him that he did this to be popular, and gain the applause of the vulgar, are confuted by the constant tenor of the rest of his actions, which all tended to uphold the interests of the nobility and the Spartan policy, of which he gave instances, when, together with Aristides, he opposed Themistocles, who was advancing the authority of the people beyond its just limits, and resisted Ephialtes, who, to please the multitude, was for abolishing the jurisdiction of the court of Areopagus. And when all of his time, except Aristides and Ephialtes, enriched themselves out of the public money, he still kept his hands clean and untainted, and to his last day never acted or spoke for his own private gain or emolument. They tell us that Rhœsaces, a Persian, who had traitorously revolted from the king his master, fled to Athens, and there, being harassed by sycophants, who were still accusing him to the people, he applied himself to Cimon for redress, and, to gain his favor, laid down in his doorway two cups, the one full of gold, and the other of silver darics. Cimon smiled and asked him whether he wished to have Cimon's hired service or his friendship. He replied, his friendship. "If so," said he, "take away these pieces, for being your friend, when I shall have occasion for them, I will send and ask for them."

The allies of the Athenians[1] began now to be weary of war and military service, willing to have repose, and to look after their husbandry and traffic. For they saw their enemies driven out of the country, and did not fear any new vexations from them. They still paid the tax they were assessed at, but did not send men and galleys, as they had done before. This the other Athenian generals wished to constrain them to, and by judicial proceedings against defaulters, and penalties which they inflicted on them,

[1] The Ionians, Islanders, etc., who had joined the "Delian Confederacy" under the leadership of Athens for defense against Persia (founded 478 or 477 B.C.).

made the government uneasy, and even odious. But Cimon practiced a contrary method; he forced no man to go that was not willing, but of those that desired to be excused from service he took money and vessels unmanned, and let them yield to the temptation of staying at home, to attend to their private business. Thus they lost their military habits, and luxury and their own folly quickly changed them into unwarlike husbandmen and traders; while Cimon, continually embarking large numbers of Athenians on board his galleys, thoroughly disciplined them in his expeditions, and ere long made them the lords of their own paymasters. The allies, whose indolence maintained them, while they thus went sailing about everywhere, and incessantly bearing arms and acquiring skill, began to fear and flatter them, and found themselves after a while allies no longer, but unwittingly become tributaries and slaves.

75. The Athenian Empire at its Height

Thucydides, book I, chaps. 103–113. Jowett's Translation

From 479 to 431 B.C. the power of Athens was at its height. This was the glorious age, when the Athenian people, quickened in all their free energies by the consciousness of triumph over Persia, went from one great deed to another. Considering the rare fruits to civilization produced by this "Age of Pericles" it is remarkable how little we know of some phases of the political and military history of Athens during this most important period. The following is part of a brief sketch prepared by Thucydides, introductory to his long story of the Peloponnesian War. It covers the years 459 to 449, — the period of the greatest Athenian activity.

The Athenians obtained the alliance of the Megarians, who revolted from the Lacedæmonians[1] because the Corin-

[1] The Megarians seem to have quitted their Spartan alliance because the Spartans would not check the Corinthians; and therefore they sought the help of Athens.

thians were pressing them hard in a war arising out of a question of frontiers. Thus they gained both Megara and Pagæ [on the Corinthian Gulf]; and they built for the Megarians the Long Walls extending from the city to the port of Nisaea, which they garrisoned themselves. This was the original and the main cause of the intense hatred which the Corinthians entertained towards the Athenians.

Meantime, Inaros, [a petty king in Libya, raised Egypt in revolt against Persia] and called in the Athenians. They were just then carrying on war against Cyprus with 200 ships of their own and their allies; and quitting the island they went to his aid. They sailed from the sea into the Nile, and getting possession of two thirds of Memphis, proceeded to attack the remaining part called the White Castle, in which the Persians and Medes had taken refuge, and with them such Egyptians as had not joined in the revolt.

The Athenians war with the Peloponnesians

An Athenian fleet made a descent on Halieis [on the coast of Argolis] where a battle took place against some Corinthian and Epidaurian troops: the Corinthians gained the victory. Soon afterwards the Athenians fought at sea off Cecryphaleia with a Peloponnesian fleet, which they defeated. A war next broke out between the Æginetans and Athenians, and a great battle was fought off the coast of Ægina in which the allies of both parties joined. The Athenians were victorious, and captured 70 of the enemy's ships: then they landed on Ægina, and under the command of Leocrates, the son of Strœbus, besieged the town. Thereupon the Peloponnesians sent over to the assistance of the Æginetans, 300 hoplites who had previously been assisting the Corinthians and Epidaurians. The Corinthians seized the heights of Geraneia and thence made a descent with their allies into the Megarian territory, think-

ing the Athenians, who had so large a force absent in Ægina and in Egypt, would be unable to assist the Megarians, or, if they did, would be obliged to raise the siege of Ægina. But the Athenians without moving their army from Ægina, sent to Megara, under the command of Myronides, a force consisting of their oldest and youngest men, who had remained at home. A battle was fought which hung equally in the balance. When the two armies separated, they both thought they had gained the victory. The Athenians, however, did get rather the better, and, on the departure of the Corinthians, erected a trophy. [And when the Corinthians joined battle with the Athenians a second time, they were still more decisively defeated.]

About this time the Athenians began to build their "Long Walls" extending to the sea, one to the harbor of Phalerum, the other to the Peiræus . . . [At this time, too, a Spartan force was sent into Central Greece to assist the Dorians[1]— of that region — against the Phocians. On their way back some Athenians disaffected with the democracy induced them to attack Attica. The Athenians met the invaders at Tanagra in Bœotia] and the Lacedæmonians and their allies, after great slaughter on both sides, gained the victory. They then marched into Megarian territory, and, cutting down fruit trees, returned home. . . .

The Athenians gain Power in Bœotia

However, on the 62d day after the battle, the Athenians made another expedition into Bœotia under the command of Myronides, and there was a battle at Œnophyta, in which they defeated the Bœotians and became masters of Bœotia and Phocis. They pulled down the walls of Tanagra, and took as hostages from the Opuntian Locrians, 100 of their richest citizens. They then completed their own "Long Walls." Soon afterward the Æginetans came to terms with

[1] The petty tribe whence the Peloponnesian Dorians claimed origin.

the Athenians, dismantling their walls, surrendering their ships, and agreeing to pay tribute for the future. The Athenians under the command of Tolmides, the son of Tolmæus, sailed around the Peloponnesus and burned the Lacedæmonian dockyard [at Cythium]. They also took the Corinthian town of Chalcis,[1] and making a raid on Sicyon, defeated a Sicyonian force.

The Egyptian Expedition Fails

The Athenians and their allies were still in Egypt where they carried on the war with varying fortune. At first they were masters of the country. The king [of Persia] sent to Lacedæmon, Megabazus, a Persian, who was well supplied with money, in hope that he might persuade the Peloponnesians to invade Attica, and so draw off the Athenians from Egypt. He had no success; the money was being spent, and nothing done,[2] so with what remained of it he found his way back to Asia. The king then sent into Egypt [another] Megabazus, the son of Zopyrus, a Persian, who marched overland with a large army and defeated the Egyptians and their allies. He drove the Hellenes out of Memphis, and finally shut them up in the island of Prosophis [in the Nile], where he blockaded them during eighteen months. At length he drained the canal and diverted the water, thus leaving their ships high and dry and joining nearly the whole island to the mainland. He then crossed over with a land force, and took the island.

[Thus], after six years' fighting the cause of the Hellenes [in Egypt] was lost. A few survivors of their great army found their way through Libya to Cyrene; by far the larger number perished. Fifty additional triremes which had been sent by the Athenians and their allies to relieve

[1] A small town in Ætolia, not the greater Eubœan Chalcis.

[2] The Spartan magnates seem to have taken the bribes readily, but were not yet prepared to betray Hellas.

the other forces, in ignorance of what had happened, sailed into the Mendesian mouth of the Nile. But they were at once attacked both from the land and from the sea, and the greater part were destroyed by the Phœnician fleet, a few ships only escaping. Thus ended the great Egyptian expedition of the Athenians and their allies.[1]

Athens makes a Truce with the Peloponnesians

A short time afterward 1000 Athenians under the command of Pericles, the son of Xanthippus, embarking on board the fleet which they had at Pagæ, now in their possession, coasted along to Sicyon, and there landing defeated the Sicyonians who came out to meet them. With the least possible delay, taking on board Achæan troops and sailing to the opposite coast they attacked and besieged Œniadæ, a town of Acarnania; but they failed to reduce it and returned home.

After an interval of three years, a five years' truce was concluded between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians. The Athenians now abstained from war in Hellas itself, but made an expedition to Cyprus, with 200 ships of their own and of their allies, under the command of Cimon: 60 ships were detached from the armament and sailed to Egypt, at the request of Amyrtæus, king of the fens [in the Nile delta], the remainder proceeded to blockade Citium [in Cyprus]. Here Cimon died and a famine arose in the country: so the fleet quitted Citium. Arriving off Salamis in Cyprus they fought at sea and also on land with Phœnician and Cilician forces. Gaining a victory in both engagements, they returned home, accompanied by the ships which had gone out with them and had now come back from Egypt.

[1] It is a great misfortune we have not a more complete account of this highly romantic attempt of the Athenians to establish their power in Egypt. The men and money they wasted on this expedition might have insured their supremacy in Greece Proper, if kept at home.

After this the Lacedæmonians engaged in the so-called "Sacred War," and took possession of the temple of Delphi, which they handed over to the Delphians. But no sooner had they retired than the Athenians sent an expedition and recovered the temple, which they handed over to the Phocians. [The Athenian power both by land and sea was now at its height, but very soon their power on land began to decline.]

76. How Pericles beautified Athens

Plutarch, "Life of Pericles," chap. XI ff.

Pericles's twofold task was to make Athens the leading city of Hellas in all the arts and activities of peace, as well as to make her preëminent in naval and military power. In the second undertaking he met with only temporary success. In the first he prospered perhaps beyond his expectations.

He was a great "Demagogue" (*i.e.* leader of the people) in the good sense of the term, resting his power on the popular will, but never descending to ignoble means to court it. How he used his influence to extend the prosperity of Athens and to make her the most beautiful city in Hellas is told in this well-known passage from Plutarch.

[Pericles as leader of the Democratic element in Athens, and Cimon, the Aristocratic leader, were always contending for power, and] the open rivalry and contention of these two opponents made the gash deep, and severed the city into the two parties of the people and the few. And so Pericles, at that time more than at any other, let loose the reins to the "People," and made his policy subservient to their pleasure, contriving continually to have some great public show or solemnity, some banquet, or some procession or other in the town to please them, coaxing his countrymen like children, with such delights and pleasures as were not, however, unedifying. Besides that every year he sent

out threescore galleys, on board of which there went numbers of the citizens, who were in pay eight months, learning at the same time and practicing the art of seamanship.

He sent, moreover, a thousand of them into the Chersonese as planters, to share the land among them by lot, and five hundred more into the isle of Naxos, and half that number to Andros, a thousand into Thrace to dwell among the Bisaltæ, and others into Italy, when the city Sybaris, which now was called Thurii, was to be repeopled. And this he did to ease and discharge the city of an idle, and, by reason of their idleness, a busy, meddling crowd of people; and at the same time to meet the necessities and restore the fortunes of the poor townsmen, and to intimidate, also, and check their allies from attempting any change, by posting such garrisons, as it were, in the midst of them.

That which gave most pleasure and ornament to the city of Athens, and the greatest admiration and even astonishment to all strangers, and that which now is Greece's only evidence that the power she boasts of and her ancient wealth are no romance or idle story, was his construction of the public and sacred buildings. Yet this was that of all his actions in the government which his enemies most looked askance upon and caviled at in the popular assemblies, crying out how that the commonwealth of Athens had lost its reputation and was ill-spoken of abroad for removing the common treasure of the Greeks from the isle of Delos into their own custody; and how that their fairest excuse for so doing, namely, that they took it away for fear the barbarians should seize it, and on purpose to secure it in a safe place, this Pericles had made unavailable, and how that "Greece cannot but resent it as an insufferable affront, and consider herself to be tyrannized over openly, when she sees the treasure, which was contributed by her upon a necessity for the war, wantonly lavished out by us upon our

city, to gild her all over, and to adorn and set her forth, as it were some vain woman, hung round with precious stones and figures and temples, which cost a world of money."

How Pericles justified his Building Policy

Pericles, on the other hand, informed the people that they were in no way obliged to give any account of those moneys to their allies, so long as they maintained their defense, and kept off the barbarians from attacking them; while in the meantime they did not so much as supply one horse or man or ship, but only found money for the service; "which money," said he, "is not theirs that give it, but theirs that receive it, if so be they perform the conditions upon which they receive it." And that it was good reason, that, now the city was sufficiently provided and stored with all things necessary for the war, they should convert the overplus of its wealth to such undertakings as would hereafter, when completed, give them eternal honor, and, for the present, while in process, freely supply all the inhabitants with plenty. With their variety of workmanship and of occasions for service, which summon all arts and trades and require all hands to be employed about them, they do actually put the whole city, in a manner, into state pay; while at the same time she is both beautified and maintained by herself. For as those who are of age and strength for war are provided for and maintained in the armaments abroad by their pay out of the public stock, so, it being his desire and design that the undisciplined mechanic multitude that stayed at home should not go without their share of public salaries, and yet should not have them given them for sitting still and doing nothing, to that end he thought fit to bring in among them, with the approbation of the people, these vast projects of buildings and designs of works, that would be of some continuance before they were finished, and would give employment to numerous arts, so that the part of th-

people that stayed at home might, no less than those that were at sea or in garrisons or on expeditions, have a fair and just occasion of receiving the benefit and having their share of the public moneys.

The Great Commercial Activity in Athens, thanks to Pericles's Policy

The materials were stone, brass, ivory, gold, ebony, cyprus wood; and the arts or trades that wrought and fashioned them were smiths and carpenters, molders, founders and braziers, stonecutters, dyers, goldsmiths, ivory workers, painters, embroiderers, turners; those again that conveyed them to the town for use, merchants and mariners and shipmasters by sea, and by land, cartwrights, cattle breeders, wagoners, ropemakers, flaxworkers, shoemakers and leather dressers, road makers, miners. And every trade in the same nature, as a captain in an army has his particular company of soldiers under him, had its own hired company of journeymen and laborers belonging to it banded together as in array, to be as it were the instrument and body for the performance of the service. Thus, to say all in a word, the occasions and services of these public works distributed plenty through every age and condition.

As then grew the works up, no less stately in size than exquisite in form, the workmen striving to outvie the material and the design with the beauty of their workmanship, yet the most wonderful thing of all was the rapidity of their execution. Undertakings any one of which singly might have required, they thought, for their completion, several successions and ages of men, were every one of them accomplished in the height and prime of one man's political service. There is a sort of bloom of newness upon those works of his, preserving them from the touch of time, as if they had some perennial spirit and undying vitality mingled in the composition of them.

Phidias and other Helpers of Pericles

Phidias had the oversight of all the works, and was surveyor-general, though upon the various portions other great masters and workmen were employed. For Callicrates and Ictinus built the Parthenon; the chapel at Eleusis, where the mysteries were celebrated, was begun by Corœbus, who erected the pillars that stand upon the floor or pavement, and joined them to the architraves; and after his death Metagenes of Xypete added the frieze and the upper line of columns; Xenocles of Cholargus roofed or arched the lantern on the top of the temple of Castor and Polydeuces; and the long wall, which Socrates says he himself heard Pericles propose to the people, was undertaken by Callicrates. This work Cratinus ridicules, as long in finishing, —

> "'Tis long since Pericles, if words would do it,
> Talk'd up the wall; yet adds not one mite to it."

The Odeum, or music room, which in its interior was full of seats and ranges of pillars, and outside had its roof made to slope and descend from one single point at the top, was constructed, we are told, in imitation of the king of Persia's Pavilion; this likewise by Pericles's order; which Cratinus again, in his comedy called "The Thracian Women," made an occasion of raillery, —

> "So, we see here,
> Zeus Long-pate Pericles appear,
> Since ostracism time, he's laid aside his head,
> And wears the new Odeum in its stead."

The Propylæa

The Propylæa, or entrances to the Acropolis, were finished in five years' time, Mnesicles being the principal architect. A strange accident happened in the course of building, which showed that the goddess was not averse to the work, but was aiding and coöperating to bring it to perfection. One

of the artificers, the quickest and the handiest workman among them all, with a slip of his foot fell down from a great height, and lay in a miserable condition, the physicians having no hopes of his recovery. When Pericles was in distress about this, Athenē appeared to him at night in a dream, and ordered a course of treatment, which he applied, and in a short time and with great ease cured the man. And upon this occasion it was that he set up a brass statue of Athenē, surnamed Health, in the citadel near the altar, which they say was there before. But it was Phidias who wrought the goddess's image in gold, and he has his name inscribed on the pedestal as the workman of it; and indeed the whole work in a manner was under his charge, and he had, as we have said already, the oversight over all the artists and workmen, through Pericles's friendship for him.

77. The Corinthians contrast the Athenian and Spartan Temperaments

Thucydides, book I, chaps. 69-71. Jowett's Translation

In 432 B.C. the envoys of Corinth came to Sparta to urge her to avenge the wrongs alleged to have been inflicted by Athens upon their city. Thucydides takes the occasion to put into the mouths of the Corinthians a remarkable speech, in which they tell the Lacedæmonians many home truths, and point out clearly why Sparta was losing the hegemony of Greece. It must be borne in mind that all the praise here given Athens is supposed to have been spoken by her bitterest enemies. The effectiveness of the tribute is thereby more than doubled.

[You Lacedæmonians have allowed Athens to develop her power, and have sat idly by while your own power was in danger.] Of all Hellenes, O Lacedæmonians, you are the only people who never do anything. On the approach of an enemy you are content to defend yourself against him, not by acts, but by intentions, and seek to overthrow him not in

the infancy but in the fullness of his strength. How came you to be considered safe? That reputation of yours was never justified by facts. We know that the Persian made his way from the ends of the earth before you encountered him in a worthy manner; and now you are blind to the doings of the Athenians, who are not at a distance as he was, but close at hand.

Have you never considered what manner of men these Athenians are with whom you will have to fight, and how utterly unlike yourselves? They are revolutionary, quick in the conception and in the execution of every new plan; while you are conservative — careful only to keep what you have, originating nothing, and not acting even when action is necessary. They are bold beyond their strength; they run risks which prudence would condemn; in the midst of misfortune they are full of hope. Whereas it is your nature, though strong, to act feebly; when your plans are most prudent to distrust them, and when calamities befall to think you will never be delivered from them. They are impetuous, and you are dilatory; they are always abroad, and you are always at home. For they hope to gain something by leaving their homes, but you are afraid that any new enterprise will imperil what you have already. When conquerors they pursue their victory to the uttermost; when defeated they fall back the least.

Their bodies they devote to their country as though they belonged to other men. *Their true self is their mind,* which is most truly their own when employed in her service. When they do not carry out an intention which they have formed, they seem to have sustained a personal bereavement: when an enterprise succeeds they have gained a mere installment of what is to come; but if they fail they at once conceive new hopes and so fill up the void. With them alone, to hope is to have, for they lose not a moment in the execution of an idea. This is the lifelong task, full of toil and

danger, which they are always imposing upon themselves. None enjoy their good things less, because they are always seeking for more. To do their duty is their only holiday, and they deem the quiet of inaction to be as disagreeable as the most tiresome business. If a man should say of them in a word, that they were born neither to have peace themselves, nor to allow peace to others, he would simply speak the truth.

In the face of such an enemy, Lacedæmonians, you persist in doing nothing. . . . [Your policy of inaction] would hardly be successful, even if your neighbors were like yourselves, and in the present case, as we pointed out just now, your ways as compared with theirs are old-fashioned.

. . . [Therefore act promptly], and we will remain your friends if you choose to bestir yourselves. . . . Take heed then; you have inherited from your fathers the leadership of the Peloponnesus: see that her greatness suffers no diminution at your hands.

78. Thucydides's Estimate of Pericles and his Policy

Thucydides, book II, chap. 65. Jowett's Translation

Pericles had been the leader of the Athenian democracy for over thirty years when he died in 429 B.C. Most of the time he wielded the power of an uncrowned king, thanks to his ability to command the majority of the voters in the Ecclesia. The judgment which Thucydides passes upon his abilities and character has been ratified by later history. Pericles might have postponed the Peloponnesian War by divers concessions, but he believed it inevitable, and allowed Sparta to force the issue. He was entirely justified in believing that Athens would emerge victorious if she adhered to a strictly defensive policy.

Pericles survived the commencement of hostilities two years and six months, and, after his death, his foresight was even better appreciated than during his life. For he

had told the Athenians that if they would be patient and attend to their navy, and not seek to enlarge their dominions while the war was going on, nor imperil the existence of the city, they would be victorious, [but after his death private ambition and interest led them into policies which were ruinous . . .]. The reason of the difference was that he, deriving authority from his capacity and acknowledged worth, being also a man of transparent integrity, was able to control the multitude in a free spirit; he led them rather than was led by them; for, not seeking power by dishonest arts, he had no need to say pleasant things, but on the strength of his own high character could venture to oppose and even to anger them. When he saw them unseasonably elated and arrogant, his words humbled and awed them; and, when they were depressed by groundless fears, he sought to reanimate their confidence. *Thus Athens, though still in name a democracy, was in fact ruled by her greatest citizen.*

His successors, however, were more on equality one with another, and each one struggled to be first himself; they were then ready to sacrifice the whole conduct of affairs to the whim of the people. Even when later Cyrus, son of the Great King, joined against them, they were at last overthrown not by their enemies, but by themselves, and their own internal dissensions. So that at the time Pericles was more than justified in the conviction at which his foresight had arrived, that the Athenians would win an easy victory over the unaided forces of the Peloponnesians.

79. Constitution of Erythræ

Inscription. Date about 460–450 B.C.

This inscription gives us considerable information as to the kind of "Democracies" Athens set up in the vassal cities of her Empire. Notice that this constitution is voted by the Athenian

Assembly and imposed by it on Erythræ (a town of considerable importance in Ionia): according to accepted Greek notions this interference of one *polis* in the affairs of another was highly "tyrannical."

[Some earlier lines illegible, probably relating to the time and manner when the decree was passed in the Athenian Ecclesia.]

The Erythræans shall bring to the greater festival of Dionysus [at Athens] offerings of not less than three minæ in value (about $54.00). The ten Magistrates of the Sacrifices shall portion out the meat to the Erythræans who are present, a drachma's worth being given to each. If the sacrificial animals are acceptable, but below the stipulated three minæ in value, the official Cattle-Buyers shall purchase oxen for the sacrifice, and charge the cost to the Erythræan people, and any one desiring may feast thereon.

The Boule of the folk of Erythræ shall comprise 120 men, chosen by lot [*lit.* by beans]. The persons so selected by lot shall be scrutinized as to his qualifications by the [preceding] Boule. No one shall serve on the Boule, if he is under thirty years of age. Whoever violates this law is subject to prosecution, and if convicted is ineligible for choice to the Boule for four years.[1] The Overseers [of the new colony] and the Captain of the Guard shall at the outset select the Boule by lot and induct it into office. But in the future the Boule itself and the Captain of the Guard shall do this. Each member, ere taking office, shall swear by Zeus and Apollo and Demeter [to do his duty]; invoking destruction upon himself and his posterity if he swear falsely. He shall take the oath over the burning sacrifices, and the Boule shall enforce this requirement. If the oath be not taken, the penalty may be a fine of one thousand drachmæ, or whatever fine the people of Erythræ vote to inflict. . . .

[1] Evidently seats in the Boule were considered likely to be much in demand by young men, and pains must be taken to exclude them.

[The oath as given binds the would-be-Bouleman to do his duty by his own people, and to keep loyally the alliance and friendship with Athens; also not to receive any exiles who have fled to the Medes.]

If any Erythræans kill a fellow-citizen, the penalty is death. If an Erythræan be banished for life, this banishment extends to the cities allied with Athens also: and his property is confiscate to the Erythræans. If any man be detected betraying the city to tyrants, he becomes an outlaw, and his children with him, unless his children prove that they have been friendly both to Erythræ and Athens: [in which case they can keep half their father's property].

80. The Relations of Athens with Phaselis

Inscription. Date about 460 B.C.

Phaselis was a maritime town of Lycia, on the Pamphylian Gulf. The place is named in Thucydides (II. 69) as being an important station for the commerce of Athens with Cilicia and Phœnicia. This inscription shows the form in which the Athenians cast their decrees, and the manner in which the sovereign Athenian demos in the day of its prosperity tried to tie the dependent states to its jurisdiction.

Voted by the Boule and the Demos. When [the tribe of] Acamantis held the Prytany [*i.e.* presidency of the 500], Onasippus was secretary, and —— was chairman. Leon made the motion which follows, —

Let a decree be graven for the men of Phaselis, setting forth that litigation arising from contracts made at Athens, with any man of Phaselis, shall be triable before the polemarch at Athens, and in no other place, even as was the case with the Chians.[1]

Other cases arising from covenants are to be treated, in dealing with the Phaselitans, even as in the agreements

[1] A precedent for the Athenians' action.

with the Chians: nevertheless, cases arising outside the city [of Athens] are exempted from this rule.

If the archon receive a case against a citizen of Phaselis, from a man dwelling elsewhere [than in Athens], and the defendant be condemned, the decision shall not stand.

If he (the archon) be proven to have [acted contrary to ?] the decree, he shall pay a fine of 1000 drachmæ [about $180.00]: which money shall be consecrated to Athenē.

The secretary of the Boule shall have this decree engraved on a stone monument, and erected in the Acropolis, at the expense of the men of Phaselis.

81. How the Peloponnesian War began at Platæa

Thucydides, book II, chaps. 2–6. Jowett's Translation

In March 431 B.C. the Thebans (allies of Sparta) made a treacherous attack upon Platæa (an ally of Athens), thereby precipitating the Peloponnesian War. The Thebans were natural enemies of the Platæans, since they had long been striving to bring all the Bœotian towns under their direct overlordship, and Platæa (since about 509 B.C.) had avoided their grasp by making a firm league with Athens.

For fourteen years the "Thirty Years' Peace" which was concluded after the recovery of Eubœa [by Athens] remained unbroken; but in the fifteenth year when Chrysis, the high priestess of Argos, was in the forty-eighth year of her priesthood, Ænesias being ephor at Sparta, and at Athens Pythodorus having two months of his archonship to run,[1] in the sixth month after the engagement at Potidæa and at the beginning of spring, about the first watch of the night an armed force of somewhat more than three hundred Thebans entered Platæa, a city of Bœotia, which was an ally of Athens.

[They had been invited in by some political malcontents, who hoped to overthrow the local pro-Athenian government.]

[1] Note the extremely cumbersome method used in dating the years. The method of dating by Olympiads was not used before about 260 B.C.

There was an old quarrel between the two cities, and the Thebans, seeing that war was inevitable, were anxious to surprise the place while the peace lasted and before hostilities had actually broken out. No watch had been set; and so they were able to enter the city unperceived. They grounded their arms in the Agora; but instead of going to work at once and making their way into the houses of their enemies, as those who invited them suggested, they resolved to issue a conciliatory proclamation and try to make friends with the citizens. The herald announced that if any one wished to become their ally and return to the ancient constitution of Bœotia, he should join their ranks. In this way they thought that the inhabitants would be easily induced to come over to them.

The Platæans, when they found that the city had been surprised and taken, and that the Thebans were inside the walls, were panic-stricken. In the darkness they were unable to see them and greatly overestimated their numbers. So they came to terms, and, accepting the proposals made to them, remained quiet, — the more readily since the Thebans offered violence to no one.

The Townsfolk fall upon the Intruders

But in the course of the negotiations they somehow discovered that their enemies were not so numerous as they had supposed, and concluded they could easily attack and master them. They determined to make the attempt, for the Platæan people were strongly attached to the Athenian alliance. They began to collect inside the houses, breaking through the party walls, that they might not be seen going along the streets; they likewise raised barricades of wagons, unyoking the beasts that drew them, and took other measures suitable to the emergency. When they had done all that could be done under the circumstances they sallied forth from their houses, choosing the time of night

just before daybreak lest, if they put off the attack until dawn, the enemy might be more confident and more a match for them. While darkness lasted they would be timid and at a disadvantage, not knowing the streets so well as themselves.[1] So they fell upon them at once hand to hand.

When the Thebans found they had been deceived they closed their ranks and resisted their assailants on every side. Two or three times they drove them back; but when at last the Platæans charged them with a great shout, and the women and slaves on the housetops screamed, and yelled, and pelted them with stones and tiles, the confusion being aggravated by the rain which had been falling heavily during the night, they turned and fled in terror through the city. Hardly any of them knew the way out: and the streets were dark as well as muddy, for the affair happened at the end of the month when there was no moon; whereas their pursuers knew well enough how to prevent their escape, and thus many of them perished.

The Thebans are Overpowered

The gates by which they entered were the only ones open, and these a Platæan fastened with the spike of a javelin, which he thrust into the bar instead of the pin. So this exit, too, was closed and they were chased up and down the city. Some of them mounted upon the wall, and cast themselves down into the open. Most of these were killed. Others got out by a deserted gate, cutting through the bar unperceived, with an ax which a woman gave them; but only a few, for they were soon found out. But the greater number kept together, and took refuge in a large building abutting upon the wall, of which the doors on the near side chanced to be open, they thinking them to be the gates of the city, and expecting to find a way through them

[1] If Platæa was a typical Greek town, the streets were undoubtedly fearfully dark, narrow, and crooked.

into the country. The Platæans, seeing that they were in a trap, began to consider whether they should not set the building on fire and burn them as they were. At last they and the other Thebans who were still alive and were wandering about the city, agreed to surrender themselves and their arms unconditionally. Thus fared the Thebans in Platæa.

The main body of the Theban army, which should have come during the night to the support of the party entering the city in case of a reverse, having on the march heard of the disaster, were now hastening to the rescue. Platæa is about eight miles distant from Thebes, and the heavy rain which had fallen in the night delayed their arrival; for the river Asopus had swollen and was not easily fordable. Marching in the rain, and with difficulty crossing the river, they came up too late, some of their friends being already slain and others captives.

[The Thebans now tried to seize such Platæans as were outside the walls as hostages, but were warned by herald to retire instantly, or the captives in Platæa would be killed. The Thebans therefore retreated, declaring afterwards they had been promised the prisoners would be restored. The Platæans denied having made this promise,[1] and the moment the Thebans were gone, put the 180 prisoners to death.]

82. The Affair of Pylos

Abridged from Thucydides, book IV, chaps. 3–14. Jowett's Translation

In 425 B.C. came the "Affair of Pylos," which gave a turn to the war that ought to have ended it in the favor of Athens. It was only the most blundering statesmanship that prevented that happy issue. If Pericles had been living, it is safe to say the contest would then have terminated with a most satisfactory peace. By capturing the Spartan garrison at Sphacteria, however, the Athenians at least gained a means of compelling the enemy to cease from their periodic ravagings of Attica.

[1] The Theban version was probably the more correct.

When an expedition of the Athenians bound for Sicily, by way of Corcyra, put in at Pylos on the coast of Laconia, Demosthenes, one of the admirals, urged his colleagues to fortify the place as being easily defended, and a useful stronghold against the Spartans in their own country. The others told him "there were plenty of desolate promontories he might fortify if he wished to waste the public funds." However, the weather hindered the fleet from sailing, and the Athenian soldiers, having nothing else to do, built a fort, improvising the tools and material; and the place was naturally so strong that it needed little work to make it almost impregnable. Then the fleet sailed away, leaving five ships to defend the new fortress.

When the news of this reached the Peloponnesians they were invading Attica. Now they hastened promptly home, and the Spartans summoned their allies to send ships to blockade and reduce Pylos; but Demosthenes hastened off two vessels to Corcyra to call back the fleet to rescue him.

The Lacedæmonians fail to retake the Athenian Fortress

While the Athenians were hastening up with succor, the Lacedæmonians were preparing to attack the fort by sea and land. They thought that there would be little difficulty in taking a work so hasily constructed and defended by a mere handful. However, to head off the Athenian ships they resolved to close the harbor, and so cut off all aid. The small island called Sphacteria, close to the land, divided the harbor entrances, leaving both quite narrow: the one on the north nearest Pylos only wide enough to give passage for two ships; the southern one for eight or nine. The island was about [a mile and three quarters] long and heavily wooded. To hold this island the Lacedæmonians sent 420 hoplites, besides their attendant helots,[1] commanded by Epitadas, the son of Molobrus.

[1] Probably one helot for each hoplite

Meantime Demosthenes had arrayed his small body of sailors and hoplites to best advantage. He exhorted his men to stand firm: pointing out their great advantage of position, and how difficult it was to disembark in the face of an enemy who was not "frightened out of his wits at the splashing of oars and the threatening look of a ship bearing down upon him."

The Lacedæmonians attacked with 43 ships: but they had to come up by relays — there was only space for a few ships to approach at once; and the pilots were fearful of getting on the rocks. They made great efforts to disembark but could not — on account of the roughness of the ground and the steadfastness of the Athenians. It was a strange turn of fortune indeed which drove the Athenians [the great *sea* power] to repel the Lacedæmonians, who were attacking them by sea from the Lacedæmonian coast; and the Lacedæmonians [the great *land* power] to fight for a landing on their own soil, now hostile to them, in the face of the Athenians.

The Athenians gain the Upper Hand

Three days long the attack was pressed vainly; and now the Athenian fleet 50 strong came hasting back from Zacynthus. When the Peloponnesians did not sail out to meet them, after the Athenian admirals realized the situation, they rushed into the harbor by both entrances at once, and drove the enemies' ships ashore. The Lacedæmonians in agony for their friends now cut off on the island, struggled desperately, but it was in vain. The Athenians gained control of the harbor, and set a guard over the island.

At Sparta there was now vast consternation. The ephors finding no means of relieving their men on Sphacteria made a compact with the Athenian admirals. They were to hand over all their ships to the Athenians; and in turn the Athenians were to allow a fixed amount of food to be

sent to the entrapped hoplites; this to continue until peace envoys could be sent to Athens to negotiate for the end of the war. If either party violated the truce in the least, it was to cease to be binding.

Sparta proposes Peace, but is refused Tolerable Conditions

At Athens the Spartan envoys talked earnestly of the opportunity now given the Athenians for ending the war on advantageous terms; and promised "the lasting friendship of the Lacedæmonians," if they would consent to reasonable conditions; also urging that Athens and Sparta if allied could give the law to all Hellas; but Cleon, a popular demagogue, who had the greatest influence over the multitude, induced the Ecclesia to reply that Sparta must allow Athens to have Nisæa [the port of Megara], Trœzen and Achaia, — places Athens had not lost in this war but in a former one. Despite their anxiety for peace, the Spartan envoys dared not consent to such terms. They quitted Athens and the truce was at end. On the ground of some petty infractions of the agreement, the Athenians refused to restore to the enemy the ships that had been given up during the negotiation, and pressed the blockade of the island, but the task of reducing it was difficult. On windy days the blockade was imperfect and boats ran the gantlet; again swimmers made their way over dragging skins containing pounded linseed and poppy seeds mixed with honey.

How Cleon was sent to Sphacteria

At Athens there was now fear that the Spartans would escape, and Cleon at last spoke in the Ecclesia; criticizing especially Nicias the general, his personal enemy, saying sarcastically "that if the generals were good for anything they might easily sail to the island and take the men, and that was certainly what *he* would do, were he but general."

Nicias thereupon retorted that "so far as the generals were concerned he might take any force he required and try." Cleon at first imagined Nicias was pretending, and was willing to go; finding him in earnest he tried to beg off, and said that "It was not he, but Nicias who was general"; for he was alarmed, having never imagined that Nicias would go so far as to give up his place to him. The more, however, Cleon tried to decline and retract, the more the multitude, as their manner is, urged Cleon to sail instead of Nicias. At last, unable to escape, he undertook the expedition, saying he was not afraid; and that if he could have certain auxiliary light troops, he would in twenty days either kill all the Lacedæmonians, or capture them. His words awoke laughter: and the wiser citizens were pleased when they reflected that one of two good things was certain — an end to Cleon, which alternative they preferred, or at least the capture of the Lacedæmonians.

Cleon makes good his Promise

Cleon, however, was aided by a fire, which destroyed most of the woods on Sphacteria, and revealed the numbers and position of the enemy. Disembarking an overwhelming number of men, mostly light-armed troops with missiles, he harassed the Spartans in a long desperate fight, and drove them back to a fort, where they held out bravely for some time, until they were surrounded, and at last, when all hope was fled, and their leaders slain, they surrendered. Of the 420 hoplites originally on the island, only 295 lived to be taken.

The Athenians now withdrew their army and returned home; and the mad promise of Cleon was fulfilled — for he *did* bring back the prisoners within twenty days, as he had said.

Nothing which happened during the war caused greater amazement in Hellas; for it was universally imagined

that the Lacedæmonians would never give up their arms even under the pressure of famine, but would fight to the last and die sword in hand.[1]

On the arrival of the captives the Athenians resolved to put them in chains until peace was concluded; but if in the meantime the Lacedæmonians invaded Attica, to slay the prisoners. They also threw a garrison into Pylos, which fortress became a center for ravaging expeditions into Laconia, and a refuge for runaway helots.

83. The Sailing of the Athenian Armament for Sicily

Thucydides, book VI, chaps. 30–32. Jowett's Translation

In 415 B.C., at the instigation of the clever but self-seeking Alcibiades, the Athenians dispatched a vast armament for the conquest of Syracuse. They put forth their uttermost resources upon the expedition, rightly convinced that victory here would give them the supremacy of Hellas. The story of the sailing of the fleet is the occasion for one of the most graphic passages in Thucydides. There is, of course, the unspoken contrast between the vastness of the hopes of the Athenians and the depth of the calamity into which they were plunging.

Early in the morning of the day appointed for their departure the Athenians and such of their allies as had already joined them went down to the Piræus and began to man the ships. The entire population of Athens accompanied them, citizens and strangers alike. The citizens came to take farewell, one of an acquaintance, another of a kinsman, another of a son: the crowd as they passed along were full of hope and full of tears: hope of conquering Sicily, tears because they doubted whether they would ever see

[1] There was nothing "mad" about Cleon's promise to capture the Spartans: they were simply overwhelmed by numbers, but the awe in which the Athenians and all other Hellenes stood of even a battalion of these hoplites is a testimony to Spartan military tradition and valor.

their friends again, when they thought of the long voyage on which they were sending them. . . . Nevertheless their spirits revived at the sight of the armament in all its strength and of the abundant provision which they had made. The strangers and the rest of the multitude came out of curiosity, desiring to witness an enterprise of which the greatness exceeded belief.

No armament so magnificent or costly had ever been sent out by any single Hellenic power. . . . On the fleet the greatest pains had been lavished by the trierarchs[1] and by the state. The public treasury gave a drachma per day (18 cents), to each sailor, and furnished empty hulls for 60 swift-sailing vessels, and for 40 transports carrying hoplites. All these were manned by the best crews which could be obtained. The trierarchs, besides the pay given by the state, added somewhat out of their own means to the wages of the upper tiers of rowers[2] and of the petty officers. The figureheads and other fittings provided by them were of the most costly description. Every one strove to the uttermost that *his* ship might excel both in beauty and swiftness.

The infantry, too, had been well selected and the lists carefully made up. There was the keenest rivalry among the soldiers in the matter of arms and personal equipment. And while at home the Athenians were thus competing with one another in the performance of their several duties, to the rest of Hellas the expedition seemed to be a grand display of their power and greatness, rather than a preparation for war. If any one reckoned up the whole expenditure (I) of the state, (II) of individual soldiers [and private contributors] he would have found that altogether an immense sum amounting to many talents was withdrawn from the city.

[1] Here is meant the wealthy citizens who assumed the outfitting of a trireme, rather than its actual commander.

[2] These rowers pulled the longest oars and had the most responsible tasks.

Men marveled at the boldness of the scheme, and the magnificence of the spectacle, which was everywhere spoken of; no less than at the great disproportion of the force when compared with that of the enemy against whom it was intended. — Never had a greater expedition been sent to a foreign land. Never was there an enterprise in which hope of future success seemed better justified by present power.

When the ships were manned, and everything required for the voyage had been placed on board, silence was proclaimed by sound of the trumpet, and all with one voice before setting sail offered up the customary prayers. These were recited, not in each ship, but by a single herald, the whole fleet accompanying him. On every deck both officers and men mingled wine in the bowls, and made libations from vessels of gold and silver. The multitude of citizens and other well-wishers who were looking on from the land joined in the prayer. The crews raised the Pæan, and when the libations were completed put out to sea. After sailing out for some distance in single file, the ships raced with one another as far as Ægina. Thence they hastened onwards to Corcyra, where the allies who formed the rest of the armament were assembling.[1]

84. The Last Fight in the Harbor of Syracuse

Thucydides, book VII, chaps. 70–71. Jowett's Translation

By September 413 B.C. the efforts of the Athenians to take Syracuse had failed absolutely, thanks more to the incapacity of

[1] The magnificence of the spectacle in the Piræus can best be realized when we remember that these ships — 134 triremes and many smaller vessels — were driven by *oars*. A single trireme pulling 85 oars to the side, tossing the foam with its bronze beak, its upper works glittering with bright steel and color, the flashing blades all pumiced white, and very likely with a huge orange square sail set was surely a wonderful sight! What, then, must have been this vast armament at the havens of Athens?

Nicias, their general, than to the valor of the defenders. The Syracusans had blockaded the harbor, whence lay the sole chance of retreat for the Athenians by sea; and the latter in desperation strove to force the barriers and win an escape from the country they had come to conquer. Again Thucydides is at his best in his description of the contest, which he must have often heard rehearsed by eyewitnesses.

When the Athenians approached the closed mouth of the harbor, the violence of their onset overpowered the ships which were stationed there; they then attempted to loosen the fastenings [with which the enemy had joined the ships which blockaded the harbor]. Whereupon from all sides the Syracusans and their allies came bearing down on them, and the conflict was no longer confined to the entrance, but extended throughout the harbor. No previous engagement had been so fierce and obstinate. Great was the eagerness with which rowers on both sides rushed upon their enemies whenever the word of command was given; and keen was the contest between the pilots as they maneuvered against one another. The marines, too, were full of anxiety that, when ship struck ship, their service on deck should not fall short of the rest; every one in the place assigned to him was eager to be foremost among his fellows.

The Actual Conflict

Many vessels meeting — and never did so many fight in so small a space, for the two fleets together amounted to nearly two hundred — they were seldom able to strike in a regular manner, because they had no opportunity of first retiring or breaking the line; they generally fouled one another as ship dashed against ship in the hurry of flight or pursuit. All the time that another vessel was bearing down, the men on deck poured showers of javelins and arrows and stones upon the enemy; and when the two closed the marines fought

hand to hand, and endeavored to board. In many places, owing to want of room, they who had struck another found that they were struck themselves; often two or even more vessels were unavoidably entangled about one, and the pilots had to make plans of attack and defense not against one adversary only, but against several coming from different sides.

The crash of so many ships dashing against one another took away the wits of the sailors, and made it impossible to hear the boatswains, whose voices in both fleets rose high as they gave directions to the rowers, or cheered them on in the excitement of the struggle. On the Athenian side they were shouting to their men that they must force a passage and seize the opportunity, now or never, of returning in safety to their native land. To the Syracusans and their allies was represented the glory of preventing the escape of their enemies, and of a victory by which every man could exalt the honor of his city.

The Agony of the Onlookers

While the naval engagement hung in the balance, the two armies on shore had great trial and conflict of soul. The fortune of the battle varied; and it was not possible that the spectators on the shore should all receive the same view of it. Being quite close and having different points of view, they would some of them see their own ships victorious; their courage would then revive and they would call earnestly upon the gods "not to take from them their hope of deliverance!" But others, who saw their ships worsted, cried and shrieked aloud, and were by the sight alone more utterly unnerved than the defeated combatants themselves. Others again, who had fixed their gaze on some part of the struggle which was undecided, were in a state of excitement still more terrible; they kept swaying their bodies to and fro

in agony of hope and fear as the stubborn conflict went on and on; for at every instant they were all but saved or all but lost!

The Athenians are Worsted

While the strife thus hung in the balance you might hear in the Athenian army at once lamentation, shouting, cries of victory or defeat, and all the various sounds which are wrung from a great host in extremity of danger. No less agonizing were the feelings of those on board. At length the Syracusans and their allies, after a protracted struggle, put the Athenians to flight, and triumphantly bearing down on them, and encouraging one another with loud cries and exhortations, drove them to land. Then [the remaining Athenian vessels], fell back in confusion to the shore, and their crews rushed out of their ships into the camp. And the land forces uttering one universal groan of intolerable anguish, ran, some to save the ships, others to defend what remained of the wall [guarding the camp]; but the greater number began to look to themselves and to their own safety. Never had there been a greater panic in an Athenian army.

85. How the Athenian Prisoners at Syracuse were Treated

Thucydides, book VII, chap. 87. Jowett's Translation

After the failure to force their way from the harbor by sea, the Athenians tried to flee by land from Syracuse to some friendly Sicilian city. The roads were blocked; they were surrounded and forced to surrender. Their terrible fate is here recounted. This was the epilogue to the drama begun when the great armada swept out of the cheering Piræus two years previously.

The Athenians imprisoned in the quarries were at first harshly treated by the Syracusans. There were great numbers of them, and they were crowded in a deep and narrow place. At first the sun by day was still scorching

and suffocating, for they had no roof over their heads, while the autumn nights were cold and the extremes of temperature engendered violent disorders. Being cramped for room, they had to do everything in the same spot. The corpses of those who died from wounds, exposure to the weather and the like lay heaped one upon another. The smells were intolerable; and they were at the same time afflicted by hunger and thirst. During eight months they were allowed only about half a pint of water and a pint of food per day. Every kind of misery which could befall a man in such a place, befell them. This was the condition of all the captives for about ten weeks. At length the Syracusans sold [a part of them into slavery].

86. The Battle of Ægospotami

Xenophon, "Hellenica," book II, chap. 1. Bohn Translation

In 405 B.C. the gallant and partially successful resistance of the Athenians after the awful Syracusan disaster came to an end in the final disaster of Ægospotami. It was caused more by the gross blundering of the Athenian admirals than by the ability of Lysander, the Spartan commander. With this inglorious and absolute defeat ended the mighty sea power that had been created by Themistocles, and which had kept the Ægean so long in awe.

The Athenians sailing in the track [of Lysander's Spartan armament] came to anchor at Eleus in the [Thracian] Chersonesus with 180 ships. Whilst they were taking their breakfast there, the news came of what had just happened at Lampsacus [how Lysander had taken it], and instantly they pushed out to Sestus. Thence, after provisioning their ships, away they went to Ægospotami over against Lampsacus; the Hellespont at this point being some fifteen stadia across [about one and two thirds miles]. There they made ready their evening meal. The next day, when dawn was breaking, Lysander ordered his men to breakfast and go on shipboard. After making ready for a battle . . . he ordered

that no one should stir from his position, or put out to sea. The Athenians at sunrise were drawn up by the harbor with a close front, ready to engage, but when Lysander did not attack them, and it was growing late, they sailed back to Ægospotami. Lysander ordered his fastest ships to scout after the Athenians, and when they had landed to observe what they did, then report back to him. He acted thus for four days, while the Athenians continued putting out against him [for battle].

[Alcibiades living in exile in a fortress on the shore cautioned the Athenian admirals that they were not in a good position, and advised them to remove to Sestus, but the admirals] . . . told him to "go away, for they were in command now, not he": and accordingly he departed.

Lysander entraps the Athenians into Battle

So on the fifth day the Athenians sailed out against Lysander, and he ordered his scouts which followed them, that when on the return of the Athenians, they saw them landed, and dispersed about the Chersonesus, — for they did so much more every day, having to buy their provisions at a distance, and getting to despise Lysander for not attacking them, — the scouts should at once sail again to him, and lift up a shield [as signal] when they were halfway back.

These commands they executed. Immediately Lysander gave the signal for his fleet to sail at its uttermost speed. . . . Conon [the Athenian admiral] on seeing him coming gave orders to "go on board the ships, and face the enemy with all one's might": — but, since his men were utterly dispersed, some of the [Athenian] ships had only two benches manned; some had only one; some were actually empty of men. Conon's own ship, and seven others near him, got to sea with their complement; also the *Paralus*[1];

[1] The sacred state galley.

but all the rest Lysander caught close by the land. He captured, too, most of the men ashore, though some fled to the fortified towns.

Conon, escaping with his nine ships, when he found the cause of Athens was utterly blasted, landed at Abarnis, a headland of Lampsacus, and took away the large sails of Lysander's vessels, and then sailed away with eight ships to join Evagoras in Cyprus, while the *Paralus* sped to Athens with the tidings of disaster.

[Lysander, after his victory, put to death nearly all his prisoners that were Athenians in retaliation for certain alleged cruelties wrought by them.]

The Terrible News reaches Athens

At Athens on the arrival of the *Paralus* in the night, the tale of their disaster was told; and the lamentation spread from the Piræus up the "Long Walls" into the city, one man passing the fell news to another; and *that night no man slept* — mourning not only their dead, but dreading even more the woes that they themselves must suffer, such woes as they had inflicted on the Melians — a colony of Lacedæmon, — whom they had starved out, — and on the Æginetans, and so many others among the Greeks.

87. A Meeting of the Ecclesia

Euripides, "Orestes," l. 866 ff. Way's translation

No person was a sharper critic of all things of his age than the great radical and skeptic — the Athenian tragedian Euripides. In the "Orestes," under the guise of describing the public assembly convened at Argos to try the case of Orestes, the son of Agamemnon (accused of slaying his mother, who in turn had murdered his father, her husband), he draws an unsparing picture of assemblies in Athens where the fickle and shallow-thinking multitude and the time-serving demagogues often ignored the claims of real wisdom and justice.

A Messenger [*speaking to the waiting Electra, the sister of Orestes*].

It chanced that I was entering the gates
Out of the country, fain to learn thy state,
And of Orestes: for unto thy sire
Aye was I loyal: thine house fostered me,
A poor man, yet true hearted to his friends.
Then throngs I saw to seats on yon height climb
Where first, as men say, Danaus, by Ægyptus
Impeached, in general session gathered us;
Marking the crowd, I asked a citizen
"What news in Argos? Hath a bruit of foes
Startled the city of the Danaïds?"
But he, "Dost thou not mark Orestes there
Draw near to run the race whose goal is death?"
Would I had ne'er seen that unlooked-for sight —
Pylades with thy brother moving on;
This, sickness-palsied, with down-drooping head;
That, as a brother, in his friend's affliction
Affected, tended like a nurse the sick.
When now the Argive gathering was full,
A herald rose and cried "Who fain would speak
Whether Orestes ought to live or die
For matricide?" Talthybius thereupon
Rose, helper of thy sire when Troy was sacked,
He spake — subservient ever to the strong —
Half-heartedly, extolling high thy sire,
But praising not thy brother; intertwined
Fair words and foul — "that he laid down a law
Right ill for parents"; so was glancing still
With flattering eye upon Ægisthus's friends.
Such is the herald tribe; — lightly they skip
To fortune's minion's side; their friend is he
Who in a state hath power and beareth rule.

Next after him Prince Diomedes spake.
Thee nor thy brother would he have them slay,
But exile you, of reverence to the Gods.
Then murmured some that good his counsel was;
Some praised it not.
Thereafter rose up one
Of tongue unbridled, stout in impudence,
An Argive, yet no Argive,[1] thrust on us;
In bluster, and coarse-grained fluency confident,
Still plausible to trap the folk in mischief;
For when an evil heart with winning tongue
Persuades the crowd, ill is it for the state;
Whoso with understanding counsel well
Profit the state — ere long, if not straightway.
Thus ought we on each leader of men to look,
And so esteem; for both be in like case,
The speaker and [the hearers of the speech]. —
Thee and Orestes he bade stone to death.
But Tyndareus still prompted him with words
That best told, as he labored for your death.
To plead against him, then another rose,
No dainty presence, but a manful man,
In town and market circle seldom found,
A yeoman, — such as are the land's one stay, —
Yet shrewd in grapple of words, when this [had need],
A stainless man who lived a blameless life,
He moved that they should crown Agamemnon's son
Orestes, since he had dared avenge his sire,
Slaying the wicked and the godless wife
Who sapped our strength; — none would take shield on arm
Or would forsake his home to march to war,
If men's house warders be seduced the while
By stayers at home, and [marriage] be defiled.

[1] The poet means a man who had obtained citizenship by dubious methods, — a slap possibly at some noisy orator at Athens.

To honest men he seemed to speak right well;
And none spake after. Then thy brother rose
And said, "Lords of the land of Inachus, —
Of old Pelasgians, later Danaus's sons, —
'Twas in your cause, no less than in my sire's
I slew my mother, for if their lord's blood
Shall bring no guilt on wives, make haste to die;
Else must ye live in thraldom to your wives,
And transgress against all rightfulness.
For now the traitress to my father's couch
Is dead; but if ye shall indeed slay me,
Law is annulled; better men died straightway;
Since for no crime shall wives be lacking now."

They would not hear, though well he spake, meseemed.
That knave prevailed, who to the mob appealed,
Who called on them to slay thy brother and thee.
Hapless Orestes scarce could gain the boon
By stoning not to die. By his own hand
He pledged him to leave life on this same day
With thee. Now from the gathering Pylades
Bringeth him weeping; and his friends attend
Lamenting with strong crying.[1] . . . Thy princely birth
Nought hath availed thee, nor the [oracle of] King
Apollo, tripod-throned; nay, [it] ruined thee![2]

88. The Habits of Athenian Jurors

Aristophanes, "The Wasps," ll. 520 ff., adapted from the Bohn Translation, vol. I, p. 204

In Aristophanes's "Wasps" about 422 B.C. a keenly critical picture is drawn of the characters who haunted the Attic jury courts, got themselves put on the list of *dicasts* as often as possible, and followed the fine points of the trial with acumen and delight; but

[1] The average Greek saw nothing improper in weeping in public, and indulging otherwise in actions now counted unmanly.

[2] The mere fact that Orestes and his sister were royal-born made a democratic assembly more pitiless.

who were nevertheless open to all sorts of illicit appeals and influences. Probably in most cases, however, substantial justice was done, although the chance for personal prejudice and motive was dangerously large. At least knaves did not escape on mere technicalities.

[Philocleon, the old Dicast, speaks]

Now I will set forth from the beginning our dominion [as dicasts], for it is inferior to no other sovereignty. For what animal is to-day more happy or enviable, more luxurious or terrible than a dicast? Especially an old veteran [in the work]? [A tall litigant] lays his hand gently upon me as I [approach the court in the morning], and bowing low supplicates me with piteous voice, "Pity me, father: I beseech you, if ever you yourself stole anything when you held a public office, or while on military service you had to make purchases for your messmates." And he [this suppliant] wouldn't have known that I was so much as alive, but for his former acquittal?

Then when I have entered the court after being entreated, and having had my anger wiped away, when once inside I don't do a thing that I have promised; but I just listen to them spouting their eloquence, begging for an acquittal!

Ah! Let me see — what flattery is there that a dicast *can't* hear at the court? Some lament their poverty and add [feigned] ills to real ones, until by grieving they make their griefs equal to mine: — others tell us mythical stories; others some merry jest from Æsop; others utter jokes to make me laugh and lay aside my anger. And if these means don't win us over, at once the litigant drags in his children, hand in hand, daughters and sons, while I harken to him. They bend down their heads together, and all bleat at once; then their father all a-tremble, supplicates me as if I were a god, in their behalf, to "Acquit for *their* sakes!" "If you are moved by the voice of your

lamb [at home], pity the voice of my son!" But if again [he thinks] I enjoy my little pigs [*i.e.* children] he beseeches me to be won over by the voice of his daughter. Then we relax the "peg of our wrath" just a little bit for him! Isn't this a fine empire!

Likewise when the youths undergo the scrutiny, then our presence is required.[1] And if Æagrus[2] enter court as a defendant, he doesn't escape until he recites to us a passage from the Niobe, — some part picked out as the finest. And if a flute player gains his suit, our fee for this is that he play the finale for us dicasts as we leave the court. Also if a father, who dies leaving an heiress, give her [by will] in marriage to any one, we first bid a long farewell to the testament and the solemnly sealed evidence, and hand the heiress over to the man who has won us by his entreaties. We aren't held responsible for what we do, though all the other magistrates are!

Moreover, the Council [of 500] and the Assembly, when they have trouble in settling any case, vote to hand the offenders over to us dicasts. Even Cleon the conqueror[3] of all at bawling [in public], alone spares us from criticism, but watches over us [tenderly], "holding us in his hands and keeping off the flies."

But the best thing of all I had nigh forgotten. When I come home [at night] with my fee, then all the family run to greet me for the money's sake. First of all my daughter washes and anoints me, and stooping over me gives me a kiss, and, wheedling me, at the same time fishes out the three-obol piece [9 cents] with her tongue.[4] Then my little woman having won me over with her flattery brings me a nice barley-cake and then sitting down by my side con-

[1] Young men at 20 had to satisfy a court as to their fitness for Athenian citizenship.

[2] A famous tragic actor.

[3] Cleon was Aristophanes's especial aversion.

[4] Greeks very commonly carried a coin by putting it in their cheek.

strains me, saying, "eat this," "gobble that." — Do I not hold a mighty empire, not inferior to that of Zeus?

[At an earlier point in the drama the chorus of dicasts is made to say:]

Assuredly Philocleon used to be by far the fiercest in our company, and alone of us not to be persuaded. Whenever any one supplicated him, he used to bend his head down thus [*imitating*] and say, "You are boiling a stone."[1] . . . Come, good friend, get up [and come out of your house,] for a wealthy comrade of the knaves who betrayed our interests in Thrace is come to trial. Take care that you duly disgrace him, and verily make an end of him.

89. Anecdotes about Socrates

Diogenes Laertius, "Life of Socrates." Bohn's Translation

Most of our information as to Socrates's teachings and philosophy comes from his great pupils Plato and Xenophon, but for the small personalia we are largely dependent upon the decidedly dry biographer, Diogenes Laertius (about 200 A.D.), who is worthless as an interpreter of Socrates's life work, but who gives us a good many anecdotes and stories like the following.

Socrates was the son of Sophroniscus, a sculptor, and of Phænarete, a midwife. He was a citizen of Athens, of the deme of Alopece.

[At first he is said to have been a sculptor and] some say that the "Graces" on the Acropolis are his work. Demetrius of Byzantium says it was Criton[2] who made him quit his workshop and instruct men, out of the admiration which he conceived for his abilities.

Socrates then perceiving that natural philosophy had no immediate bearing upon our interests, began to enter into moral speculations both in his workshop and in the

[1] You are doing something wholly in vain.
[2] A wealthy Athenian and friend of Socrates.

market place. And he said that the objects of his search were "Whatever good or harm can befall man in his own house."

And very often while arguing or discussing points that arose, he was treated with great violence and beaten, and pulled about, and laughed at and ridiculed by the multitude. But he bore this with great equanimity, so that once, when he had been kicked and buffeted about, and had borne it all patiently and some one expressed surprise, he said, "Suppose an ass had kicked me, would you have me bring an action against him?"

He had no need of traveling — though most philosophers did travel — except when he was bound to serve in the army. But all the rest of his life he remained in the same place, and in an argumentative spirit he used to dispute with all who would converse with him; not with the purpose of taking away their opinions from them, so much as of learning the truth, so far as he could do so, himself.

He was a man of great firmness of mind and much attached to the democratic government [of Athens], as was made plain by his not submitting to Critias,[1] when he ordered him to bring Leon of Salamis, a very rich man, before the "Thirty" for the purpose of being murdered.

He was a contented and venerable man. Once when Alcibiades offered him a large piece of ground to build a house upon, he said, "But if I wanted shoes, and you had given me a piece of leather to make myself shoes, I should be laughed at if I took it." And often when he beheld the multitude of things which were being sold, he would say to himself, "How many things there are which I do not want!"

Socrates and Xanthippe

[He was twice married; the better known of his wives was the famous Xanthippe].

[1] The notorious chief of the "Thirty Tyrants" who held Athens 404 to 403 B.C.

[2] A friend and pupil.

He said once to Xanthippe, who first abused him and then threw water at him, "Did I not say that Xanthippe was thundering now, and would soon rain?" When Alcibiades said to him, "The abusive temper of Xanthippe is intolerable:" he rejoined, "But I am used to it, just as if I were always hearing the noise of a pulley, and you yourself endure to hear geese cackling." Once she attacked him in the Agora and tore his cloak off; his friends advised him to keep her off with his hands. "Yes, by Zeus," he said, "so that while we are boxing, you may all cry out, 'Well done, Socrates!' 'Well done, Xanthippe!'" And he used to say that one ought to live with a restive woman, just as horsemen manage violent-tempered horses; "and as they," said he, "when they have once mastered them, are easily able to manage all others; so I, after managing Xanthippe, can easily live with any one else whatever."

Details of Socrates's Trial

[At his trial] the sworn information on which the prosecution proceeded, were drawn up in this fashion. . . . "Melitus, the son of Melitus of Pittea, impeaches Socrates, son of Sophroniscus of Alopece: Socrates is guilty inasmuch as he does not believe in the gods which the state worships, but introduces other strange deities: he is also guilty, inasmuch as he corrupts the young men; and the punishment he has incurred is death."

When the trial proceeded, it is said that Plato ascended the tribune, and said, "I, men of Athens, being the youngest of all who have mounted the tribune —" [but here] he was interrupted by the dicasts, who cried out *Katabántōn!* that is to say "Come down!"[1]

So when Socrates had been condemned by 281 votes, being sixty more than were given in his favor; and when

[1] Come down from the orator's stand, and stop talking.

the dicasts began making an estimate of what punishment or fine should be inflicted upon him, he said he ought to be fined 25 drachmæ [something under $5.00], but Eubalides says that he admitted he deserved a fine of 100. And when the dicasts raised an outcry at this proposition, he said, "My real opinion is that as a return for what has been done by me, I deserve a maintenance at the Prytaneium [city hall] for the rest of my life."

Under these circumstances they condemned him to death, by 80 votes more than they had originally found him guilty. And he was put in prison, and a few days afterward he drank the hemlock,[1] having held many admirable conversations in the meantime, — which Plato has recorded in the "Phædo."

90. Socrates's Method of showing up Ignorance

Plato, "Meno." Jowett's Translation

Socrates made a great contribution to the science of correct thinking by insisting on ultimate and satisfactory definitions of all important terms and ideas. The method by which he exposed the hollowness of pretended wisdom, by means of a series of seemingly very innocent questions, is shown in a scant measure in the following abstract from one of Plato's shorter dialogues, in which the general Socratic method surely is preserved accurately. It need hardly be said that the "Sophists" (*i.e.* men who professed to be able to impart every kind of wisdom) were not made to love Socrates by this process. In the present dialogue Socrates is questioning Meno, who claims to have the key to "virtue."

Socrates. By the gods, Meno, be generous and tell me what you say that virtue is; for I shall be truly delighted to find that I have been mistaken, and that you and Gorgias [the famous sophist] *do* really have this knowledge; although

[1] Drinking the juice of poisonous hemlock was the regular method of execution at Athens. The poison seems to have numbed the victim gradually, and its action was relatively humane and painless.

I have been just saying that I have never found anybody who had.

Meno. There will be no difficulty, Socrates, in answering your question. Let us first take the virtue of a man — he should know how to administer the state, and in the administration of it 'to benefit his friends and harm his enemies;'[1] and he must also be careful not to suffer harm himself. [A woman has corresponding housewifely virtues. . . .] Every age, every condition of life, young or old, male or female, bond or free, has a different virtue; there are virtues numberless, and no lack of definitions of them; for virtues are relative to the actions and ages of each of us in all we do. And the same may be said of vice, Socrates.

Socrates. How fortunate I am, Meno. When I ask you for one virtue, you present me with a swarm of them, which are in your keeping. Suppose that I carry on the figure of the swarm and ask of you, "What is the nature of the bee?" — and you answer that there are many kinds of bees, and I reply, "But do bees differ as bees, because there are many and different kinds of them; or are they not rather to be distinguished by some other quality, as for example, beauty, size, or shape?" — How would you answer me?

[After pressing a little more, Meno admits that not an enumeration of different virtues, but a *common definition* of virtue is what is needed.]

Meno. Will you have but one definition of them all?

Socrates. That is what I am seeking.

Meno. If you want to have *one* definition of them all, I know not what to say, but that virtue is the power of governing mankind.

[Socrates now induces Meno to admit that this cannot describe the virtue of all, *e.g.* of children or slaves; unless the words "justly" and "not unjustly" are added, which would be arguing

[1] The true Hellenic substitute for the Golden Rule.

in a circle, for these words would have to be explained. Meno then mentions various recognized virtues, *e.g.* courage, etc. But that brings the old difficulty, so he tries again.]

Meno. Well, then, Socrates, virtue is when he who desires to be honorable is able to provide it for himself; so the poet says, and I say too:—

"Virtue is the desire of things honorable, and the power of attaining them."

[Socrates promptly shows that *all* men really desire the honorable; so nothing is left of the definition but "the power of attaining it." To make this satisfactory for explaining "virtue" one must add, "of attaining it with justice"—again arguing in a circle. Meno gives up in desperation.]

Meno. O Socrates, I used to behold, before I knew you, that you were always doubting yourself, and making others doubt; and now you are casting your spell over me, and I am simply getting bewitched and enchanted and am at my wits' end. And if I venture to make a jest upon you, you seem to me, both in your appearance and in your power, to be like the flat torpedo fish, who torpifies those who come near him and touch him, as you have now torpified me, I think. For my soul and my tongue are really torpid, and I do not know how to answer you; and though I have been delivered of an infinite variety of speeches about virtue before now, and to many persons,—and very good ones they were, as I thought,—at this moment I cannot even say what virtue is.

91. Socrates's Apology for his Life

Plato, "Apology of Socrates." Jowett's Translation

Socrates's defense of himself and of the life he had lived, as recorded by his pupil Plato, is one of the great documents of the ages, and no abridgment can do it justice. It should be read

entire by every educated man or woman. Although the "Apology" comes to us from the pen of Plato, there seems no good reason to believe that he has failed to report substantially what Socrates said at his trial in 399 B.C.

I [Socrates] will sum up the accusations against me in an affidavit, "Socrates is an evildoer, and a curious person who searches into things under the earth and in heaven, and makes the worse appear the better cause; and he teaches the aforesaid doctrines to others." But the simple truth is, O Athenians, that I have nothing to do with these studies. Very many here present are witnesses to the truth of this, and to them I appeal.

As little foundation is there for the report that I am a teacher and take money [from my pupils]. This is no more true than the other. Although if a man *is* able to teach, I honor him, for being paid. There is Gorgias of Leontini, and Prodicus of Ceos, and Hippias of Elis, who go the round of the cities, and are able to persuade the young men to leave their own citizens, by whom they might be taught for nothing, and come to them, whom they not only pay, but are thankful if they may be allowed to pay them. There is actually a Parian philosopher residing in Athens of whom I have heard; and I came to hear him in this way. I met a man who has spent a world of money on the Sophists — Callias, son of Hipponicus, and knowing he had sons I asked him: "Callias," I said, "if your two sons were foals or calves, there would be no difficulty in finding some one to put over them; we should hire a trainer of horses, or a farmer probably, who would improve and perfect them in their own proper virtue and excellence, but as they are human beings, whom are you thinking of placing over them? Is there any one who understands human and political virtue?"

"There is," he said.

"Who is he?" said I, "and of what country; and what does he charge?"

"Evenus the Parian," he replied, "he is the man, and his charge is five minæ" [about $90.00].

Happy is Evenus, I said to myself, if he really *has* the wisdom, and teaches for such a modest charge! Had I the same, I should have been very proud and conceited; but the truth is I have no knowledge of the kind, O Athenians.

What the Delphic Oracle said of Socrates

I will refer you to a witness who is worthy of credit and will tell you about my wisdom, — whether I have any and of what sort, — and that witness shall be the God of Delphi. You must have known Chærephon; he was early a friend of mine. Well, Chærephon, as you know, was very impetuous in all his doings, and he went to Delphi, and boldly asked the oracle to tell him whether — as I was saying I must beg you not to interrupt[1] — he asked the oracle to tell him "whether there was any one wiser than I was?" And the Pythian prophetess answered there was no man wiser.

When I heard the answer, I said to myself, What can the god mean? for I know I have no wisdom small or great. Yet he is a god and cannot lie, that would be against his nature. After long consideration, I at last thought of a method of trying the question. I reflected that if I could only find a man wiser than myself I might go to the god with the refutation in my hand.

[Socrates, however, after a long search could not find a truly wise man: many pretended to wisdom in some matters; but when the arguments of each were run down, they were clearly unsound], although he was thought wise by many, and still wiser by himself. And I swear to you Athenians, by the dog[2] I swear! — for I must tell the truth, the result

[1] Athenian juries were by no means courteous in listening to pleaders.
[2] A favorite oath of Socrates.

of my mission was just this: I found that men most in repute were all but the most foolish; and that some inferior men were really wiser and better. [The Sophists, politicians, poets, and even artisans were all in like condemnation for their self-conceit.] . . . And the truth is, O Athenians, that God only is wise, and in the oracle he means to say that the wisdom of man is little or nothing; he is not speaking of Socrates, he is only using my name as an illustration, as if he said, "*He, O Men, is the wisest, who like Socrates knows that his wisdom is in truth worth nothing.*"

Socrates's Mission in Life

And so I go on my way, obedient to the god, and make inquisition into the wisdom of any one, whether citizen or stranger, who *appears* to be wise; and if he is not wise, then in vindication of the oracle, I show him that he is not wise; and this occupation quite absorbs me, and I have no time to give either to any public matter of interest or to any concern of my own; for I am in utter poverty by reason of my devotion to the god.

There is another thing — the young men of the richer classes, who have not much to do, come to me of their own accord; they like to hear the pretenders examined, and they often imitate me and examine others themselves; there are plenty of persons, as they soon discover, who think that they know something, but really know little or nothing; and then those who are examined by them instead of being angry with themselves are angry at me: "This confounded Socrates!" they say, "this villainous misleader of youth!" and then if somebody asks them, "Why, what evil does he practice and teach?" They do not know and cannot tell, [but trump up charges of] teaching things up in the clouds and under the earth, and having no gods, and "making the worse appear the better cause," — for they do not like to

confess that their pretense to knowledge is detected. — [And these are the people who have been supporting the prosecution against me.]

92. Socrates's Argument that Death is no Evil

Plato, "Apology of Socrates." Jowett's Translation

The noblest part of Socrates's defense is the conclusion — addressed, after the vote of condemnation, to that large minority of his judges who voted for his acquittal. It is hard, even veiled in translation, and after the lapse of twenty-three centuries, to read it without some responding emotion.

Let us reflect, and we shall see that there is great reason to hope that death is good, for it is one of two things: either death is a state of nothingness or utter unconsciousness, or, as men say, there is a change and migration of the soul from this world to another. Now if you suppose that there is no consciousness, but a sleep like the sleep of him who is undisturbed even by the sight of dreams, death will be an unspeakable gain. For if a person were to select the night in which his sleep was undisturbed even by dreams, and were to compare with this the other days and nights of his life, and then were to tell us how many days and nights he had passed in the course of his life, better and more pleasantly than this one, I think that *any* man, I will not say a private man, but even the Great King will not find many such days or nights when compared with the others. Now if death is like this, I say that to die is gain, for eternity is then only a single night.

But if death is a journey to another place, — and where, as men say, all the dead are, — what good, O my friends and judges, can be greater than this? If indeed when the pilgrim arrives in the world below, he is delivered from the [mere] professors of justice in this world, and finds the true judges who are said to give judgment there, Minos and

Rhadamanthus and Æacus and Triptolemus, and other sons of God who were righteous in their own life, *that* pilgrimage will be worth the making!

What would not a man give if he might converse with Orpheus and Musæus[1] and Hesiod and Homer? Nay, if that be true, let me die again and again. I, too, shall have a wonderful interest in a place where I can converse with Palamedes and Ajax, the son of Telamon, and other heroes of old, who have suffered death through an unjust judgment; and there will be no small pleasure, as I think, in comparing my own sufferings with theirs. Above all, I shall be able to continue my search for true and false knowledge; as in this world, so also in that; I shall find out who is wise and who pretends to be wise and is not.

What would not a man give, O judges, to be able to examine the leader of the great Trojan expedition? Or Odysseus or Sisyphus or numberless others, men and women too! What infinite delight there would be in conversing with them and asking them questions! For in that world they do not put a man to death, — certainly not. For besides being happier in that world than in this, they will be immortal, — if what is said is true.

Wherefore, O judges, be of good cheer about death, and know this of a truth, — that no evil can happen to a good man either in this life or after death. He and his are not neglected by the gods: nor has my own approaching end happened by mere chance.

The hour of departure has arrived and we go our ways — I to die and you to live. Which is the better, God only knows.

[1] A mythological personage — famous as poet and giver of oracles.

93. The Old and the New Style of Education

Aristophanes, "The Clouds," l. 940 ff., adapted from the Bohn Translation, vol. I, p. 156

The age of Pericles and the generation following was in everything an age of transition, and in nothing more than education. It was declared necessary to supplant the old accepted training of boys in reading, music, and gymnastics, with a course on dialetic and public speaking, especially with the view of making tonguey orators. In the comedy of the "Clouds" (about 423 B.C.) Aristophanes holds the "New School" of education, its teachers and methods, up to ridicule not always deserved. Aristophanes is unjust, in this comedy, in representing Socrates as the champion of the Sophists and their new-fangled dialetic.

[*Situation:* The "Just" and the "Unjust" arguments, personifying, respectively, the Old and the New-style (Socratic) education are trying each to persuade Phidippides, an Athenian youth, that their style of education is the best. The Chorus of "Clouds" is acting as a kind of umpire between the contestants.]

Chorus. Cease from contention and railing! But show us, you of the old-style teaching, and you of the new-style, both of your respective systems, — so that after this fellow has heard, he may decide which school to attend. [*Both agree.*] Well — who's to speak first?

Unjust Argument. I'll give him the right of way, and then from the very facts he adduces I'll shoot him dead with new arguments and ideas.

[Just Argument at length begins.]

Just. I will now describe the old style of education; how it was managed, when I prospered in the advocacy of justice, and when temperance was the fashion. First of all, not a boy ought to be heard uttering a syllable; next, the boys in the same quarter of the town were obliged to march stripped and drawn up in order — even if the snow was thick as meal — to the house of the harp master. And there the master

would teach them [some good old tune], not sitting crossed-legged as now, but raising to a mighty pitch those strains we learned from our fathers. If anybody acted silly or turned any quavers, like these difficult turns the artists make now after the style of Phrynis,[1] he used to get a good hard thrashing as "banishing the Muses!"

All the boys then had to sit with their clothes wrapped decently about them, and not to anoint themselves over-effeminately, so that the body bore the aspect of blooming health. Nor used it to be allowed when one was dining to take the head of a radish, or snatch from one's elders dill or parsley, or eat fish, or giggle, or keep the legs crossed.[2]

[Unjust Argument here breaks in to intimate all this is "antiquated and full of grasshoppers!"]

Just. Well surely this style of educating nurtured the men who fought at Marathon. But you teach fellows to-day from their earliest years to go wrapped up in their outer cloak [himation].[3] So, my boy, [*addressing Phidippides*] select *me* with confidence: me, the better cause, — then you'll learn to hate [hanging around] the Agora, and keep from baths, and to be ashamed at what's disgraceful, and get angry if any one jeers you; and rise from your seat before your elders when they approach, and not behave ill towards your parents, and do nothing else that is base, because you are to form in your mind an image of Modesty, and not dart into the house of a dancing woman, and not contradict your father in anything.

[More interruptions and derision by Unjust Argument; but his opponent continues.]

And you're sure to spend your time in the wrestling

[1] An effeminate poet whom Aristophanes detested.

[2] Seemingly the height of ill manners.

[3] It seemed the height of effeminacy for a young man always to go wrapped up like a grandsire.

schools, sleek and blooming; you won't be chattering rude jests in the Agora like the boys of to-day; nor get dragged into court on some petty, knavish lawsuit. No; on the contrary you shall descend to the Academy and run races beneath the sacred olives along with some modest comrade, — crowned with white reeds, and fragrant with yew; carelessly at ease, [or] crowned with the leaf-shedding white poplar, rejoicing in the season of spring, when the planetree whispers to the elm.

If you do these things as I say, and devote your mind to them — you'll ever have a brawny chest, a clear complexion, broad shoulders, a little tongue, large hips, — and little vice. But if you do as the youth of to-day do, you'll have a pale complexion, small shoulders, a narrow chest, a large tongue, little hips, great vice, and a long public harangue. And this deceiver here, will persuade you to count everything that is base honorable, and everything that is honorable to be base.

[The Chorus thinks Just Argument has made out an excellent case: but Unjust Argument is not in the least abashed, and proceeds to refute his opponent.]

Unjust. He will not allow you to be washed in warm water; and yet why are warm baths to be criticized?

Just. Because they are most vile and make a man [effeminate and] cowardly.

Unjust. Stop! Here I've caught you by the waist with no escape. Come, tell me, which of the sons of Zeus do you consider to have been the bravest in soul and to have undergone the most labors?

Just. I count Heracles first.

Unjust. And where, pray, did you ever see *cold* Heraclean baths? And yet isn't he the most valiant?

Just. These are the very [kinds of hairsplitting] which make the baths full of young men all day long, but the palæstras [wrestling schools] empty.

Unjust. You next find fault with their living in the Agora, but I commend it. If the thing had been bad, Homer would never have made Nestor an orator, nor all the other wise men.[1] Again, he says people ought to be modest: but tell me have you ever seen any good come through modesty?

[Just Argument here cites some examples from mythology which his opponent laughs to scorn. Unjust Argument now turns back to Phidippides.]

Now consider, my fine fellow, all that modesty involves, and of how many pleasures you are going to be deprived by it — of sweethearts, of games, especially of the cottabus game,[2] of dainties, of drinking bouts, of giggling. And yet what's life worth to you without these! Well, I'll pass to other things. Suppose you give way to some passion, and get caught in it. If you only associate with me, you can indulge your appetite all you please, — dance, laugh, and think nothing disgraceful. If you're brought to account, why, you can just call up the case of Zeus, — even *he* is overcome by love and women. And yet how could you — a mortal — have greater rectitude than a god?

Just. But with what argument [after all] is he going to prove he isn't a blackguard?

Unjust. And suppose he is, where's the harm?

Just. Why, what worse could be, than just to be proved a blackguard?

Unjust. What'll you say, if I outargue you on this point?

Just. I'll keep still; what else can I do?

Unjust. Well — tell me now; from what class do the advocates come?

Just. From the blackguards.

Unjust. Right you are; and from what class come the tragedians?

[1] Who exercised their powers, of course, in the market place.

[2] A favorite indoor pastime. See Dictionary of Antiquities.

Just. From the blackguards.

Unjust. Correct indeed; and from what class come the public orators?

Just. From the blackguards.

Unjust. Then you see you are getting confuted. And look you — which class among the audience is the biggest?

Just. Well — I'm looking.

Unjust. And what do you see?

Just. By the gods! The blackguards have a big majority! This fellow, — I know him: — and yonder one, — and that other fellow with the long hair.

Unjust. *Now* what are you going to say?

Just. We are conquered. Ye blackguards, in the Gods' names, receive my cloak,[1] for I desert to you!

94. A Picture of Greek School Life

From the "Third Mime of Herondas." Quoted from a recently discovered papyrus by K. J. Freeman, "The Schools of Hellas," pp. 98–100

This quotation from a Greek author of the Alexandrian period (third century B.C.), is nevertheless in most respects true, probably, for the earlier classical period. It well illustrates the terrible cruelty which parents and teachers thought entirely necessary in dealing with school children. Surely if the ancient civilization failed, it was not through "sparing the rod" upon the younger generation!

[A mother, Metrotimé, brings her truant boy Cottalus to his schoolmaster Lampriscus to receive a flogging.]

Metrotimé. Flog him Lampriscus,
Across the shoulders, till his wicked soul
Is all but out of him. He's spent my all
In playing odd and even; knuckle bones
Are nothing to him. Why, he hardly knows
The door of the Letter School. And yet the thirtieth

[1] Referring to Socrates's usual ceremony of stripping his disciples before they were initiated into his school.

Comes round[1] and I must pay — tears no excuse.
His writing tablet which I take the trouble
To wax anew each month, lies unregarded
In the corner. If by chance he deigns to touch it
He scowls like Hades, then puts nothing right
But smears it out and out. He doesn't know
A letter, till you scream it twenty times.
The other day his father made him spell
Maron; the rascal made it *Simon:* dolt
I thought myself to send him to a school!
Ass-tending is *his* trade! — Another time
We set him to recite some childish piece;
He sifts it out like water through a crack,
"Apollo" — pause, — then "hunter!"

[The poor mother goes on to say that it is useless to scold the boy; for, if she does, he promptly runs away from home, to sponge upon his grandmother, or sits upon the roof out of the way like an ape, breaking the tiles, which is expensive for his parents.]

Yet he knows
The seventh and the twentieth of the month,
Whole holidays, as if he reads the stars,
He lies awake o'nights dreaming of them.
But, so may yonder Muses prosper you,
Give him in stripes no less than —
Lampriscus [*briskly*]. Right you are,
Here, Euthias, Coccalus, and Phillus hoist him
Upon your backs. I like your goings on,
My boy! I'll teach you manners! Where's my strap,
With the stinging cow's tail?
Cottalus [*in terror*]. By the Muses,[2] Sir, — Not with the stinger?
Lamp. Then you shouldn't be so naughty.

[1] The time for paying the monthly school fees.
[2] The Muses were the proper deities to invoke in a school.

Cott. O, how many will you give me!
Lamp. Your mother fixes that.
Cott. How many, mother?
Metr. As many as your wicked hide can bear.

[They proceed with the flogging]

Cott. Stop! — That's enough! — Stop!
Lamp. You should *stop* your ways.
Cott. I'll never do it more, I promise you.
Lamp. Don't talk so much, or else I'll bring a gag.
Cott. I won't talk, — only do not kill me, — please!
Lamp. [*at length relenting*] Let him down, boys.
Metr. No — leather him till sunset.
Lamp. Why, he's as mottled as a water snake.
Metr. Well, when he's done his reading, good or bad,
Give him a trifle more, say twenty strokes.
Cott. [*in agony*]. Yah!
Metr. [*turning away*]. I'll go home and get a pair of fetters.
Our Lady Muses, whom he scorned, shall see
Their scorner hobble here with shackled feet.[1]

95. The Will of the Philosopher Plato

Diogenes Laertius, "Life of Plato." Bohn's Translation

The philosophy of Plato — Socrates's favorite pupil — did not prevent him from enjoying temporal comforts. The copy of his will here given (he died in 347 B.C.) is interesting, both as showing that the author of the immortal "Dialogues" was possessed of a very tolerable worldly estate, and as an example generally of

[1] It is at least doubtful whether in good Athenian schools such brutalities as gags and fetters would be used. As to the cruel floggings, there is not the least doubt. "The soldiers felt towards him as schoolboys toward their master," wrote Xenophon (Anabasis, book II, chap. 6:12) of the Lacedæmonian general Clearchus, a man famous as a severe and forbidding martinet.

how a Greek gentleman might dispose of his property. It also shows how carefully the Athenians had developed the questions of boundaries between private farms.

Plato left this property, and has bequeathed it as follows: The farm in the district of the Hephæstiades bounded on the north by the road from the temple of the Cephiciades and on the south by the temple of Heracles, which is in the district of the Hephæstiades; and on the east by the estate of Archestratus the Phrænian, and on the west by the farm of Philip the Challidian, shall be incapable of being sold or alienated, but shall belong to my son Ademantus as far as possible. And so likewise shall my farm in the district of the Eiresides, which I bought of Callimachus, which is bounded on the north by the property of Eurymedon the Myrrhinusian, on the south by that of Demostratus of Xypeta, and on the east by that of Eurymedon the Myrrhinusian, and on the west by the Cephisus [river]. I also leave him [my son] three minæ of silver, a silver goblet, weighing 165 drachmæ, and a golden earring, weighing together four drachmæ and three obols. Euclides the stonecutter owes me three minæ [payable to my heirs]. I leave Artemis [one of my female slaves] her liberty. My slaves Sychon, Bictas, Appolloniades, and Dionysus I bequeath to my son, and I also give him all my furniture, of which Demetrius has a list. I owe no one anything. My executors shall be Tozthenes, Speusippus, Demetrius, Hegias, Eurymedon, Callimachus, and Thrasippus.

96. The Healing of Plutus

Aristophanes, "Plutus," l. 660 ff., adapted from the Bohn Translation, vol. II, p. 719

The method of healing by means of a dream dictating the cure, or by a direct visit from the god, was claimed as a favorite remedy by the priests of Asclepeius, who posed as the heads of the medical profession. What their system was supposed to be, is explained

in Aristophanes's comedy of "Plutus" (about 388 B.C.). The poet comes dangerously near to what to the pious would seem to be blasphemy. Whatever the comic aspects of the case, however, "sleeping in the temple" probably wrought a good deal of benefit as 'healing by suggestion'; and the priests of Asclepeius were by no means mere charlatans.

[*Situation:* The god Plutus (Riches) has been taken to the temple of Asclepeius, where he is healed of his blindness, and on the restoring of sight he is able to distribute his riches to those who deserve them. The process of healing is narrated by Cario, the slave of Chremylus, who has undertaken the restoring of Plutus.]

As soon as we came to the god [Asclepeius] conveying [this] man once so miserable, but now so blessed and fortunate, first we took him down to the sea and gave him a bath.[1] Then we went up to the temple. And when our cakes and preparatory sacrifices had been put on the fire, we laid Plutus on a couch, as was the proper way, while each of us began putting his own mattress in order.

Questioner. Wasn't there anybody else there, who needed the god?

Cario. Of course: Neoclides[2] was there, who is blind, but in stealing outdoes anybody who can see; and a lot more with all kinds of ills. But when the sacristan of the god put out the lamps, he ordered us to "go to sleep," and told us that anybody hearing a noise was to keep himself still: then we all laid down in an orderly way. But I just *couldn't* sleep. There was a pot of porridge, not far from the head of an old woman. [The smell] of it wrought on me mightily. I wanted extremely to creep [and get it]. Then on peeking out, I saw the priest snatching away the cakes and dried figs from the holy table. And then he made a round of all the altars, to see if there was a cake left; and then he "consecrated" these — into a sack! And I — im-

[1] Interruptions by the interlocutor are here omitted.

[2] A character charged with embezzlement of public funds at Athens.

agining this was vast piety — got up closer towards the pot of porridge.

Questioner. Daring fellow! Weren't you afraid of the god?

Cario. Yes, by all the gods I was — lest he get the pot before me! The old woman, when she heard my noise, reached out her hand, then I hissed and seized it with my teeth, as if I were one of Asclepeius's [holy] snakes. Back she drew her hand and lay down, wrapping herself up quietly, all in a fright. Then I bolted most of the porridge, and when I was chock full of it, I lay back to rest.

[The god Asclepeius was now supposed to come in, inspect the patients, and decide upon their cure: Cario continues.]

I covered myself up in fear, while he went the circuit inspecting all the patients carefully. Then a servant set before him a small stone mortar, and a pestle and a small chest.

Questioner. Pest on you! How did you see him if you were all wrapped up?

Cario. Through my little threadbare cloak, for, by Zeus, it's got a lot of holes! First of all he began to pound up a plaster for Neoclides, having thrown in three heads of Teneian garlic. Then he began to beat them up in a mortar mixing along with them gum and squill; and then he moistened it with Sphettan vinegar, and spread it over [the patient's eyes], first turning his eyelids inside out that he might hurt him more. Neoclides, crying and bawling, jumped up and ran away, while the god laughed and exclaimed: "Sit there now; plastered all as you are! Then you're stopped from excusing yourself by an oath from attending the Assembly."[1]

After that he sat down beside Plutus. First he handled his head, and then he took a clean napkin and wiped all

[1] *I.e.* Now you have a valid excuse.

round his eyelids. Also Panacea [Asclepeius's daughter and attendant] covered his head and the whole of his face with a purple cloth. Whereupon the god whistled, and two monstrous snakes rushed forth from the temple.

Questioner. Oh, ye merciful gods!

Cario. Well: these two snakes crept gently under the purple cloth and began to lick his eyelids all around. At least so it seemed to me. Before you could have turned down ten pots of wine, Plutus was standing up, and could see all right! I clapped my hands with joy and began to wake my master. As for Asclepeius, he at once faded from sight, and the snakes whisked into the temple; while as for those who were on the beds near by — you can't imagine how they began to hug Plutus, and actually kept awake all night until the day dawned. Oh! how I praise the god because he made Plutus see so quickly, and yet made Neoclides blinder than ever.

[At this point a great crowd bring in Plutus, who speedily begins to scatter his benefits upon the deserving.]

97. Pindar's Picture of the Elysium of the Righteous

Translated in Felton's "Ancient and Modern Greece," vol. I, p. 195

The early Greeks had only a very faint belief in immortality: the dead became "strengthless shades," mere shadows of their former selves in the drear underworld of Hades. In the fifth century B.C., however, we find the advanced thinkers of Greece devoting themselves earnestly to the eternal problem. It is likely that the famous "Mysteries" of Eleusis had their chief appeal in the hope which they extended to the righteous of a happy hereafter; and of a corresponding punishment for the wicked. What the great poet of Thebes conceived to be the lot of the good is illustrated in these lines. We have here also, even in translation, a fairly good example of the extremely elaborate schemes of versification employed by Pindar.

O'er the good, soft suns the while
Through the mild day and night serene,
Alike with cloudless luster smile
Tempering all the tranquil scene.
Theirs is leisure; vex not they
Stubborn soil or watery way,
To wring from toil, want's worthless bread;
No ills they know, no tears they shed,
But with the glorious gods below
Ages of peace contented share.
Meanwhile the bad, with bitterest woe,
Eye-startling tasks and endless tortures bear.
All those whose steadfast virtue thrice
Each side the grave unchanged hath stood,
Still unseduced, unstained with vice, —
They by Zeus's mysterious road
Pass to Cronos's realm of rest,
Happy isle that holds the blest,
Where sea-born breezes gently blow
O'er blooms of gold that round them glow,
Which nature, — boon from sea or strand
Or goodly tree — profusely showers;
Whence pluck they many a fragrant band,
And braid their locks with never fading flowers.

98. Hippocrates and Greek Medical Science

From Felton's "Ancient and Modern Greece," vol. I, p. 412 ff.

A modern writer, the late President Felton of Harvard University, has given us this summary of Greek Medical Science, centering it around the work of Hippocrates (born about 460 B.C. at the island of Cos). Hippocrates was the most distinguished physician of antiquity, and while modern surgeons and physicians would be horrified at some of his teachings, there is little doubt that, thanks to practical common sense, experience, and a profound

knowledge of human nature, he and his disciples were able often to cure even complicated cases. Ancient medicine often degenerated into the vilest quackery, but at its best it was far from contemptible.

The former notion that the ancients were ignorant of anatomy, except so far as a knowledge of it might be gained by examining the skeletons of animals, appears at present abandoned in its absolute form. It is true that the religious respect entertained for the bodies of the dead by the Greeks interfered with this study; but there was a tradition that the Asclepiadæ of Cos possessed a human skeleton, which was used in the instruction of their pupils, and which was finally bequeathed to the Temple of Apollo at Delphi. . . . The works of Hippocrates display a wonderfully minute knowledge of osteology; [but not of physiology]. . . . There were peculiar opportunities for surgical practice in Greece, — so far as external wounds were concerned, — owing to the national passion for contests in the games. Accidents of a serious nature were constantly occurring; and the services of a skillful surgeon in setting fractured bones and reducing dislocations were very often needed. The processes are minutely described [by Hippocrates] and in several cases are exactly the same as those in use at the present day.

The description of the *Iatreion*, or Surgery, contains complete directions for the operator, the patient, and the assistants, the instruments, the adjustment of the light, the position of the patient, the kinds of bandages, etc., all told with a clearness and precision, which, to an unprofessional reader at least, appear very remarkable. Thus of bandaging Hippocrates says: —

"It should be done quickly, painlessly, neatly, and elegantly: quickly, by dispatching the work; painlessly, by being gently done; neatly, by having everything in readiness, and elegantly, so that it may be agreeable to the sight." [1]

[1] No slight matter to a finicky Hellene.

Again he says, "The suspending of a fractured limb in a sling, the disposition of it, and the bandaging, all have the object to keep it in place."

Hippocrates was a keen observer; some of his aphorisms apply to more persons than physicians, thus: —

"Life is short, art is long; the occasion fleeting, experiment is fallacious, and judgment difficult. The physician must be prepared not only to do what is right himself, but to make the patient and the attendants coöperate."

"Old persons endure fasting most easily; next adults, young persons not nearly so well; least of all infants; and least of them, those that are of a particularly lively spirit."

"Both sleep and wakefulness when immoderate are bad."

"Neither repletion nor fasting, nor anything else is good when more than natural."

"When in a state of hunger one ought not to undertake hard work."

"Persons who are naturally very fat are apt to die earlier than those who are slender."

Hippocrates also gives sample cases which he has treated, and reports the symptoms, *e.g.*: —

"Criton of Thasos, while still on foot, and going about, was seized with a violent pain in the great toe; took to his bed the same day; at night was delirious. On the second day, swelling of the whole foot and acute fever; became furiously deranged; died the second day from the beginning."

"In Thasos, Philistes had a headache of long continuance, and sometimes was confined to his bed, with a tendency to deep sleep; having been seized with continual fevers from deep drinking, the pain was exacerbated. . . . On the second day deafness; acute fever . . . delirium about midday. On the third was in an uncomfortable state. On the fourth convulsions; all the symptoms exacerbated. On the fifth early in the morning he died."

99. Xenophon's Picture of an Ideal Household

Xenophon, "The Economist," VII, Dakyn's Translation, vol. III, part 1, p. 225 ff.

What the life of a high-bred Athenian lady was conceived to be at its best is set forth in this charming pen picture drawn by Xenophon, the well-known pupil of Socrates. Athenian women were held in careful repression. Romantic marriages were almost out of the question. Nevertheless, the position of a lady of good family was not an undignified one, and she was far from being merely the inmate of an Oriental harem. Very likely she would be given in marriage by her parents when she was too young to have any intelligent will of her own. Her husband was usually a mature man who would hardly look to his girl wife for any form of intellectual companionship. If, however, he was a man of truly refined instincts, it is probable enough he would come to treat his wife with much consideration and calm affection, and shield her from any kind of indignity. Of course in this essay Xenophon is setting forth what he conceives to have been an *ideal* marital relation: still he is drawing an ideal he assumes to be capable of realization in matter-of-fact Athens, not in a distant Utopia. Incidentally this extract gives considerable insight into the management of Attic homes early in the fourth century B.C.

The story is supposed to be narrated by Socrates.

It chanced one day that I saw my friend Ischomachus seated in the portico of Zeus Eleutherios [in the Athenian agora], and as he seemed to be at leisure I went up to him, and sitting down by his side, accosted him: "How is this? As a rule, when I see you, you are doing something, or at any rate not sitting idle in the market place."

"Nor would you see me now so sitting, Socrates," said he, "except that I had promised to meet some strangers, friends of mine, here."

"And when you are not so employed," said I, "where, in heaven's name, do you spend your time, and how do you

employ yourself? I am truly very anxious to know from your own lips by what conduct you have earned for yourself the title 'beautiful and good'?"

[Ischomachus laughed at the compliment, and said that when he was called on for any public service] "nobody thinks of asking for the 'beautiful and good' gentleman, it is plain 'Ischomachus the son of so-and-so' on whom the process is served. But I certainly . . . do not spend my days indoors, if for no other reason than because my wife can manage all our domestic affairs without my aid."

"Ah!" said I, "and that is just what I dearly want to learn about. Did you educate your wife yourself, to be all that a wife should be, or [when you married her] was she already proficient?"

"Well skilled?" he replied, — "why, what skill was she likely to bring with her? Not yet fifteen when she married me, and during her whole previous life most carefully trained to see and hear as little as possible, and to ask the fewest questions. Shouldn't anybody be satisfied, if at marriage her whole experience consisted in knowing how to take wool and make a dress and see that her mother's handwomen had their daily spinning tasks assigned? For (he added) as regards control of appetite and self-indulgence, she had the soundest education, and that I take it is the chief thing in the bringing up of man or woman."

"Then all else, (said I) you taught your wife yourself, Ischomachus, until you had made her capable of attending carefully to her proper duties?"

"That I did not do (he replied) until I had offered sacrifice, and prayed that I might teach, and she might learn all that could conduce to the happiness of us twain."

Socrates. And did your wife join you in the sacrifice and prayer to that effect?

Isch. Most certainly, and with many a vow registered to heaven to become all that she ought to be.

[Socrates now asks Ischomachus to tell how he educated his wife.]

"Why, Socrates (he answered), when after a time she had been accustomed to my hand, that is, tamed sufficiently to play her part in a discussion, I put her this question, 'Did you ever stop to consider, dear wife, what led me to choose you, and your parents to intrust you to me? It was surely not because either of us would have any trouble in finding another consort. No! it was with deliberate intent, I for myself, and your parents for you, to discover the best partners of house and children we could find. . . . If at some future time God grant us children, we will take counsel together how best to bring them up, for that, too, will be a common interest, and a common blessing if haply they live to fight our battles and we find in them hereafter support and succor for ourselves. But at present here is our house, which belongs to both alike. It is common property, for all that I own goes by my will to the common fund, and in the same way was deposited your dowry. We need not stop to calculate in figures which it is of us who has contributed the most: rather let us lay to heart the fact that whichever of us proves the better partner, he or she at once contributes what is most worth having.'"

[Ischomachus's wife now asks more particularly what her duties are to be; and her husband answers:]

"You will need to stay indoors, and dispatch to their toils such of your servants whose work lies outside the house. Those whose duties are indoors you will manage. It will be your task to receive the stuffs brought in, to apportion part for daily use, and to make provision for the rest, to guard and garner it so that the outgoings destined for a year may not be expended in a month. It will be your duty when the wools are brought in, to see that clothing is made for those who have need. You must also see that the dried

corn is made fit and serviceable for food. Then, too, there is something else not altogether pleasing. If any of the household fall sick, it will be your care to see and tend them to the recovery of their health."

Wife. Nay, — *that* will be my pleasantest task, if only careful nursing can touch the springs of gratitude and leave them friendlier than before. . . . But mine would be a ridiculous guardianship and distribution of things indoors without your provident care to see that the importations from without are duly made.

Isch. Just so, and mine would be a pretty piece of business, if there were no one to guard what I brought in. Do you not see how pitiful is the case of those unfortunates who pour water into their sieves forever, as the story goes, and labor but in vain?

Wife. Pitiful enough, poor souls, if that is what they do.

Isch. But there are other cares, you know, and occupations, which are yours by right, and these you will find agreeable. This, for instance, — to take some girl who knows nothing of carding wool, and to make her skillful in the art, doubling her usefulness; or to receive another quite ignorant of housekeeping or of service, and to render her skillful, loyal, serviceable, till she is worth her weight in gold; or again, when occasion serves, you have it in your power to requite by kindness the well-behaved whose presence is a blessing to your house; or maybe to chasten the bad character, should such appear. *But the greatest joy of all will be to prove yourself my better;* to make me your faithful follower; knowing no dread lest as the years advance you should decline in honor in the household, but rather trusting that though your hair turn gray, yet in proportion as you come to be a better helpmate to myself and to the children, a better guardian of our home, so will your honor increase throughout the household as mistress, wife, and mother, daily more dearly prized.

[The wife carried out Ischomachus's instructions marvelously well: later they undertook to go through the house together, with a view to putting it in the best of order.]

Isch. [*continuing*]. We proceeded to set apart the ornaments and holiday attire of the wife, and the husband's clothing both for festivals and war: the bedding both for the women's and for the men's apartments; next the shoes and sandals for them both. There was one division devoted to arms and armor, another to instruments used for carding wool, another to implements for making bread; another for cooking utensils, one for what we use in the bath, another for the things that go with the kneading trough, another for the service of the table. . . . We selected and set aside the supplies required for the month, and under a separate head we stored away what we computed would be needed for the year.

[Ischomachus adds that at another time he told his wife not to use cosmetics, nor to think that she made her face more handsome with white enamel or rouge, and to leave off high-heeled shoes: she promised to comply, but asked her husband if he could advise her how she might become not a false show, but really fair to look upon? To which he replied:]

Do not be forever seated like a slave, but, with Heaven's help, to assume the attitude of a true mistress standing before the loom, and where your knowledge gives you the superiority, there give the aid of your instruction, and where your knowledge fails, as bravely try to learn. I counsel you to oversee the baking woman as she makes the bread; to stand beside the housekeeper as she measures out her stores: to go on tours of inspection to see if all things are in order as they should be. For, as it seems to me, this will be at once walking exercise and supervision. And as an excellent gymnastic I urge you to knead the dough, and roll the paste; to shake the coverlets and make the beds; and if you train yourself in exercise

of this sort you will enjoy your food, grow vigorous in health, and your complexion will in very truth be lovelier. The very look and aspect of the wife, the mistress, seen in rivalry with that of her attendants, being as she is at once more fair and more becomingly adorned, has an attractive charm, and not the less because her acts are acts of grace, not services enforced. Whereas your ordinary fine lady, seated in solemn state, would seem to court comparison with painted counterfeits of womanhood.

[Ischomachus concludes by saying to Socrates], And I would have you to know that still to-day my wife is living in a style as that which I taught her, and now recount to you.

How an Athenian Gentleman passed his Morning

Ischomachus, who has narrated to Socrates how he trained up his wife to be a model helpmate, tells how he spends his own time in the morning and leads the life of a very prosperous and successful Athenian gentleman.

"Why, then, Socrates, my habit is to rise from bed betimes, when I may still expect to find at home this, that, or the other friend whom I may wish to see. Then, if anything has to be done in town, I set off to transact the business and make that my walk; or if there is no business to transact in town, my serving boy leads on my horse to the farm; I follow, and so make the country road my walk, which suits my purpose quite as well or better, Socrates, perhaps, than pacing up and down the colonnade [in the city]. Then when I have reached the farm, where mayhap some of my men are planting trees, or breaking fallow, sowing, or getting in the crops, I inspect their various labors with an eye to every detail, and whenever I can improve upon the present system, I introduce reform.

"After this, usually I mount my horse and take a canter.

I put him through his paces, suiting these, so far as possible, to those inevitable in war, — in other words, I avoid neither steep slope, nor sheer incline, neither trench nor runnel, only giving my uttermost heed the while so as not to lame my horse while exercising him. When that is over, the boy gives the horse a roll, and leads him homeward, taking at the same time from the country to town whatever we may chance to need. Meanwhile I am off for home, partly walking, partly running, and having reached home I take a bath and give myself a rub, — and then I breakfast, — a repast that leaves me neither hungry nor overfed, and will suffice me through the day."

CHAPTER VIII

FROM ÆGOSPOTAMI TO CHÆRONEIA

The period following the downfall of the Athenian Empire presents fewer matters of political interest than the age immediately preceding. Athens was still the center of abounding intellectual activity, but her strength for all material enterprises had been sadly sapped by the Peloponnesian War. The only really first-rate political event was the overthrow of the Spartan power by Thebes, although this was very largely due to the personal ability of Epaminondas, and Thebes lost much of her military importance on the day of his death. In the meantime, Demosthenes was coming to prominence at Athens, and was trying to rouse his fellow-citizens to a consciousness of the fact that a great peril was menacing the liberties of all Greece — the rise of Macedonia.

A few extracts, drawn from very diverse sources, are given here to illustrate some of the leading events of this so-called "last age of Greek Freedom."

100. How Lysias escaped from the "Thirty"

From Lysias's "Oration against Eratosthenes"

Lysias the Orator, in the course of a legal arraignment of Eratosthenes, one of the so-called "Thirty Tyrants" of Athens (404–403), gives the following graphic and interesting account of his own escape from murder at the hands of these oligarchs, and of the circumstances of his brother's arrest and execution. No more vivid picture has come to us of the miserable condition of things which prevailed at Athens in the year following the disastrous ending of the Peloponnesian War. It should be remembered that the "Thirty" boasted themselves as belonging to the "Noble and the Good" — *i.e.* to the educated and intelligent class, and that they were intending to set up a government far superior to the

mob rule of "King Demos." It is not surprising that after this year of agony Athens remained firmly attached to democracy so long as she retained her independence.

My father, — gentlemen of the jury, — was induced to come to this land by Pericles, and here he lived for thirty years. During this time neither he nor we brought any suit against anybody, nor were sued ourselves; in short, under the democratic government [before the rule of the Thirty] we so lived that we never wronged anybody, nor did anybody wrong us. But when the Thirty, — villains and sycophants that they were! — came into power, they asserted that they must "clear the city of evildoers, and turn the rest of the citizens to virtue and justice." Such were their professions: their performance was quite contrary, as I — both for your sakes and mine — will venture to remind you.

It came to pass that Theognis and Piso speaking among the Thirty asserted that divers of the metics[1] were very dissatisfied with the existing [revolutionary] government, — so, said they, here was a good pretext to try to punish them, but really to get hold of their money, "For the city was direfully poor, and the government needed funds." Without difficulty they persuaded their colleagues; for they thought it a thing of no moment at all to kill *men*, though to seize their *money* was of capital importance. Therefore they decided to arrest ten metics, — of these two were to be poor men, so that they might allege that they had not seized the others for lucre, but for the public weal, — as if they were acting out of sheer patriotism!

Accordingly they distributed men around the houses of their victims for the purpose of making the arrests. As for me [Lysias], they found me in the act of entertaining some guests, whom they drove out of the house, and put me in the custody of Piso, while the others going into the work-

[1] Resident aliens who did not have the rights of citizenship.

shop[1] took an inventory of the slaves. In the meantime I asked Piso [while the rest were away] if he would take a bribe and save me? "Yes," he said, "if it is a right big one!" Therefore I told him that I was ready to give a talent of silver (over $1000), and he agreed to carry out his end of the bargain. I knew that he feared neither gods nor men, still, in the existing crisis, I thought it absolutely needful to make a compact with him. Then he swore, — invoking ruin upon himself and his children, if he failed to save me, provided I gave him a talent. Whereupon I went to my private chamber, and opened the chest there. When Piso saw this he came in, looked into the chest, and summoning two of his servants ordered them to take possession of the contents. But he was far, — gentlemen of the jury, — from sticking to the sum agreed upon. Three talents of silver he took, four hundred "cyziceni," a hundred darics, and four bowls of silver. I begged him to give me something for my traveling expenses,[2] — he simply told me I ought to rejoice if I saved my skin!

When Piso and I started to leave the house, Melobius and Mnesitheides [Piso's associates] met us returning from the workshop. They overtook us just at the door, and asked where we were going. Piso said, to my [Lysias's] brother's house, to see what property was there. They told him to go along, but bade me come with them to Damnippus's house; whereupon Piso approached me, and bade me keep silence and be of good cheer, for he was going to the same place, too.[3]

At Damnippus's house we found Theognis guarding the other prisoners; they turned me over to him and then went

[1] Evidently closely attached to Lysias's residence.

[2] Lysias had already resigned himself to fleeing into exile.

[3] Piso had now good reason to try to keep Lysias's courage up; if the prisoner became desperate, he might reveal how Piso had been plundering in private, and Piso be forced to share with his fellows.

back. I was now in such a case that it seemed wise for me to take any kind of a risk, as if death were already imminent So I called Damnippus, and spoke to this effect: "You are a friend of mine, and here I am at your house. I have done nothing wrong, but I am on the point of being killed, just on account of my property. Considering my miserable plight, pray in kindness use your influence to secure my deliverance." This he promised on his part to do, but he considered it wiser to mention how the case lay to Theognis, for he thought "Theognis would do anything, if one would but give him some money."

However, while he was talking with Theognis, — now I chanced to be well acquainted with the house, and knew that there were two doors, — it seemed the only thing for me to do was to try to save myself unaided, considering that if I could escape undetected, I was safe; if I was stopped, still I could escape if Damnippus induced Theognis to take a bribe, but [if everything failed] I could only die just the same. With such motives, then, while they were stationing a guard at the hall door, I fled by another way. There were three doors through which I had to pass, but they all chanced to be open. I got to the house of Archeneus the shipmaster, and I sent him to the town[1] to learn about the fate of my brother [Polemarchus]: presently he came back with the news that Eratosthenes [a member of the Thirty] had arrested him while on the road, and haled him off to prison. When I had ascertained these facts, on the next night I escaped by sea to Megara.[2]

As for Polemarchus, the Thirty gave the command, — so usual with them! — that he must drink the hemlock poison. They never told him of the nature of the accusation for which he was to die, though much he desired a trial, and a

[1] The shipmaster evidently lived down in the harbor town in the Piræus, and Lysias induced him to go up into the "City."

[2] A convenient refuge, of course, for Athenian exiles.

chance to make his defense. When he was dead and they took his body out of the prison, though our family owned three houses, the authorities would not let the funeral take place from any of them. They simply hired a bier, and laid him out on it. There was plenty of clothing [in our confiscated dwellings] but they gave none to us [his relatives] though we requested it. So his friends gave one a mantle, and another a pillow, and so on, just as each one happened to have them, for his funeral.

Although we had seven hundred shields belonging to us,[1] together with gold, silver, brass ornaments, furniture, and women's clothing far beyond what [the Tyrants] had expected, also one hundred and twenty slaves, — of whom they took the best, and flung the others into prison, — their insatiable avarice reached such a pitch, that they made a veritable exhibition of their true characters, for actually Melobius took from the ears of the wife of Polemarchus, the gold earrings which she chanced to wear, — and that, too, just as soon as he had entered her house. In not the least respect was our property spared by them. They wronged us thus on account of our wealth, as other enemies would on account of great injuries, — although we had done nothing to deserve such treatment at the hands of the government, but had paid the cost of all the choruses, and many taxes, and had been law-abiding persons in every way. We had had no private enemies, and we had freed many Athenian citizens [by paying their ransoms] from their enemies.

101. Traits and Character of Epaminondas

Cornelius Nepos "Life of Epaminondas," Selections. Bohn Translation

Epaminondas (died 362 B.C.) was one of the noblest and ablest of all the Hellenes. Bœotia was counted as unprolific in great personalities, but Athens never produced a statesman of more

[1] Lysias's father seems to have had a profitable weapon factory.

unblemished integrity and patriotism, or greater capacity for organizing men and handling them on the battle field. He was a real genius in the military art, breaking away from the conventions of the old-style Laconian drillmasters, and developing new tactics that were later perfected by Philip and Alexander. It was due largely to Epaminondas that Sparta was deposed from that hegemony of Hellas which she had so long held and abused.

Epaminondas was the son of Polymnis, and was born at Thebes. He was of an honorable family, though left poor . . . but he was among the best educated among the Thebans; he had been taught to play the harp and to sing to its accompaniment by Dionysius [a famous musician], to play the flute by Olympiodorus, and to dance by Calliphron. For his instructor in philosophy he had Lysis of Tarentum, a Pythagorean, to whom he was so devoted that — young as he was — he preferred the society of a grave and austere old man, instead of companions of his own age; nor did he part with him until he had so far excelled his fellow students in learning, that it might easily be seen that in the same way he would excel in other pursuits.

After he grew up and began to apply himself to gymnastic exercises, he studied not so much to increase the strength as the agility of his body; for he thought that strength suited the purposes of wrestlers, but that agility conduced to excellence in war. He used to exercise himself very much, therefore, in running and wrestling, as long as he could grapple, and contend standing with his adversary. But he spent most of his labor upon martial exercises.

To the strength of body thus acquired were added many good qualities of mind; for he was modest, prudent, grave, wisely availing himself of opportunities, skilled in war, brave in action, and of remarkable courage. He was so great a lover of truth that he would not tell a falsehood, even in jest; he was also master of his passions, gentle in disposition, submitting to wrong not merely from the

[Theban] people, but from his own friends.[1] He was a remarkable keeper of secrets, a quality no less serviceable sometimes than ability to speak eloquently. . . . He bore poverty so easily that he received nothing [in way of reward] from his [native Theban] state save glory. He did not avail himself of the means of his friends to maintain himself, but he often used his credit to relieve others to such a degree that it might be thought all things were in common between him and his friends; for when any one of his countrymen had been taken by the enemy, or when the marriageable daughter of a friend could not be married for lack of a dowry, he used to call a council of his friends and to prescribe how much each should give according to his means [toward the dowry or ransom].

He was also remarkably free from covetousness, as is shown when the envoy of King Artaxerxes the Persian came to Thebes to bribe Epaminondas with five talents [to get the Thebans to help the king], but Epaminondas said to him: "There is no need for money in this matter: for if the King desires what is for the good of the Thebans, I am ready to do it for nothing; if otherwise, he has not silver and gold enough to move me, for I would not exchange the riches of the whole world for my love for my country. You, who have tried me thus without knowing my character, and who have thought me like yourself I do not blame — and I forgive you; but quit the city at once, lest you corrupt others, though unable to corrupt me." [2]

He was also an able speaker, so that no Theban was a match for him in eloquence; nor was his language less pointed in brief replies than elegant in an elaborate speech.

[At the battle of Mantinea, while his Bœotians were win-

[1] Note that Nepos does not add "and from his enemies" — *that* would have been beyond Græco-Roman virtue.

[2] Epaminondas would seem thus to be aware of the painful venality of very many of his fellow Hellenes — a national weakness.

ning the day, he was mortally wounded by a javelin]: when he saw that if he drew out the iron head of the dart he would instantly die, he kept it in until they told him "that the Bœotians were victorious." "I have lived long enough," he then said, "for I die unconquered." The iron head was then extracted, and at once he died.

He was never married, and when blamed on that account [since he would leave no children] he said: "I cannot want for posterity. For I leave behind me a daughter, — the victory of Leuctra, that must of necessity not merely survive me, but be immortal!"

102. The Battle of Leuctra

Xenophon, "Hellenica," book VI, chap. IV. Dakyn's Translation

In 371 B.C. at Leuctra, in Bœotia, on the road from Platæa to Thespiæ, the Thebans met and defeated the Spartans. The latter never recovered from the blow this disaster gave to their prestige. It was poetic justice that this punishment for their ill rule should come from Thebes — the city they had used shamefully beyond all others. The credit for the victory falls to Epaminondas, though he is not named by the historian Xenophon, who — as a warm admirer of the Spartans — was not anxious to glorify their most formidable enemy.

When the Spartan king [Cleombrotus] observed that the Thebans, so far from giving autonomy to the Bœotian city states [as demanded], were not even disbanding their army and had clearly the purpose of fighting a general engagement, he felt justified in marching his troops into Bœotia [from Phocis where he had been]. The point of ingress which he adopted was not that which the Thebans expected from Phocis, and where they were keeping a guard at a defile, but marching through Thisbæ, by a hilly and unsuspected route, he arrived before Creusis, taking that fortress and twelve Theban war ships to boot. After this, he ad-

vanced from the seaboard, and encamped in Leuctra in Thespian territory. The Thebans encamped on a rising ground immediately opposite at no great distance, and were supported by no allies, save their [fellow] Bœotians.

At this juncture the friends of Cleombrotus came to him and urged upon him strong reasons for delivering battle. "If you let the Thebans escape without fighting," they said, "you will run great risks of suffering the extreme penalty at the hands of the state. . . . [In times past you have missed doing anything notable, and let good chances slip.] If you have any care for yourself, or any attachment to your fatherland, march you must against the enemy." Thus spoke his friends, and his enemies remarked, "Now our fine fellow will show whether he is really so partial to the Thebans as is alleged."

Both Sides prepare for Battle

With these words ringing in his ears, Cleombrotus felt driven to join battle. On their side the Theban leaders calculated that if they did not fight, their provincial cities would hold aloof from them, and Thebes itself would be besieged; while if the populace of Thebes failed to get provisions there was a good chance the city itself would turn against [its own leaders]; and seeing that many of them had already tasted the bitterness of exile, they concluded it were better to die on the battle field than renew the exile's life. Besides this, they were somewhat encouraged by an oracle, predicting that "the Lacedæmonians would be defeated on the spot where stood the monument of the maidens," — who, as the story goes, being outraged by certain Lacedæmonians, had slain themselves. This sepulchral monument the Thebans decked with ornaments before the battle. Furthermore, tidings were brought from the city that all the temples had opened of their own accord; and

the priestesses asserted that the gods foretold victory. Cleombrotus held his last council "whether to fight or not" after the morning meal. In the heat of noon a little wine goes a long way; and people said it took a somewhat provocative effect upon their spirits.

Circumstances unfavorable for the Spartans

Both sides were now arming, and there were unmistakable signs of approaching battle, when, as the first incident, there issued from the Bœotian lines a long train bent on departure — they were fu nishers of the market, a detachment of baggage bearers and in general such people as had no hankering to join in the fight. [A band of the Spartan allies headed them off, and drove them back to the Bœotian camp . . .] the result being to make the Bœotian army more numerous and closely packed than before. The next move was as a result of the open plain between the two armies, — the Lacedæmonians posted their calvary in front of their squares of infantry, and the Thebans imitated them. Only there was this difference, — the Theban horse were in a high state of training and efficiency, thanks to their war with the Orchomenians, and also their war with Thespiæ; the Lacedæmonian cavalry was at its very worst just now. The horses were reared and kept by the richest citizens; but whenever the levy was called out, a trooper appeared who took the horse with any sort of arms that might be presented to him, and set off on an expedition at a moment's notice. These troopers, too, were the least able-bodied of the men, — just raw recruits simply set astride their horses, and wanting in all soldierly ambition. Such was the cavalry of either antagonist.

The heavy infantry of the Lacedæmonians, it is said, advanced by sections three abreast, allowing a total depth to the whole line of not more than twelve. The Thebans

were formed in close order of not less than fifty shields deep, calculating that victory over the [Spartan] king's division of his army would involve the easy conquest of the rest.

The Shock of Battle

Cleombrotus had hardly begun to lead his division against the foe, when, before in fact the troops with him were aware of his advance, the cavalry had already come into collision, and that of the Lacedæmonians was speedily worsted. In their flight they became involved with their own heavy infantry; and, to make matters worse, the Theban regiments were already attacking vigorously. Still strong evidence exists for supposing that Cleombrotus and his division were, in the first instance, victorious in the battle, if we consider the fact that they could never have picked him up and brought him back alive unless his vanguard had been masters of the situation for the moment.

When, however, Deinon the polemarch, and Sphodrias, a member of the king's council, with his son Cleonymus, had fallen, then it was that the cavalry and the polemarch's adjutants, as they are called, with the rest, under pressure of the mass against them, began retreating. And the left wing of the Lacedæmonians, seeing the right borne down in this way, also swerved. Still, in spite of the numbers slain, and broken as they were, as soon as they had crossed the trench which protected their camp in front, they grounded arms on the spot whence they had rushed to battle. This camp, it should be borne in mind, did not lie on the level, but was pitched on a somewhat steep incline.

The Spartans admit Defeat

At this juncture there were some Lacedæmonians, who, looking upon such a disaster as intolerable, maintained that they ought to prevent the enemy from erecting a trophy, and

try to recover the dead, not under a flag of truce, but by another battle. The polemarchs, however, seeing that nearly 1000 of the total Lacedæmonian troops were slain, and seeing, too, that of the 700 regular Spartans who were on the field some 400 lay dead; aware likewise of the despondency which reigned among the allies, and the general disinclination on their part to fight longer, — a frame of mind not far from positive satisfaction in some cases at what had happened, — under the circumstances, I say, the polemarchs called a council of the ablest representatives of the shattered army, and deliberated on what should be done. Finally the unanimous opinion was to pick up the dead under a flag of truce,[1] and they sent a herald to treat for terms. The Thebans after that set up a trophy, and gave back the bodies under a truce.

How the News came to Sparta

After these events a messenger was dispatched to Lacedæmon with news of the calamity. He reached his destination on the last day of the gymnopædiæ [midsummer festival] just when the chorus of grown men had entered the theater. The ephors heard the mournful tidings not without grief or pain, as needs they must, I take it; but for all that they did not dismiss the chorus, but allowed the contest to run out its natural course. What they did was to deliver the names of those who had fallen to their friends and families, with a word of warning to the women not to make any loud lamentation, but to bear their sorrow in silence; and the next day it was a striking spectacle to see those who had relations among the slain moving to and fro in public with bright and radiant looks, whilst of those whose friends were reported to be living, barely a man was seen, and these

[1] To ask for a burial truce after a battle was a formal confession of defeat.

flitted by with lowered heads and scowling brows, as if in humiliation.

103. How Philip of Macedon began his Reign

Justin, "History," book VII, chap. V. Bohn Translation

Philip II of Macedon (reigned 359 to 336 B.C.) took a faction-rent, semicivilized country of quarrelsome landed nobles and boorish peasants, and made it into the first military power in the world. The conquests of Alexander the Great would have been impossible without the military power bequeathed him by his almost equally great father. At the very outset of his reign Philip had to confront sore perils in his own family and among the vassals of his decidedly primitive kingdom. Some of these perils are here explained.

Alexander II [King of Macedon] at the very beginning of his reign purchased peace from the Illyrians [the barbarian folk north and west of Macedon] with a sum of money, giving his brother Philip as a hostage. Some time later, also, he made peace with the Thebans by giving the same hostage, a circumstance which afforded Philip fine opportunities for improving his extraordinary abilities; for being kept as a hostage at Thebes for three years, he received the first rudiments of a boy's education at a city famous for its strict discipline, and in the house of Epaminondas, who was eminent as a philosopher as well as a great general. Not long afterward Alexander perished by a plot of his mother Eurydice, whom Amyntas [her husband], — when she was once convicted of a conspiracy against him, — had spared for the sake of their children, little imagining that one day she would be their destroyer. Perdiccas, too, — Alexander's brother, — was taken off by like treachery. Horrible, indeed, it was that children should have been deprived of life to gratify the passion of a mother, — whom a regard for those very children had saved from the reward for her

crimes. The murder of Perdiccas seemed all the viler in that not even the prayers of his little son could win him pity from this mother. Philip, for a long time, acted not as king, but as guardian to this child; but when dangerous wars threatened, and it was too long to wait for the coöperation of a prince who was yet so young, he was forced by the people to take the government upon himself.

When he took possession of the throne, great hopes were formed of him by all, both on account of his abilities, which promised that he would prove a great man, and on account of certain old oracles touching Macedonia, which foretold that "when one of the sons of Amyntas should be king, the country should be extremely flourishing," — to fulfill which expectations the iniquity of his mother had left only him.

At the beginning of his reign, when both the treacherous murder of his brother, and the multitude of his enemies, and the poverty of the kingdom exhausted by successive wars, bore hard upon the immature young king: [he gained respite from attack by his many foes] some being put off by offers of peace, and others being bought off. However, he attacked such of his enemies as seemed easiest to be subdued, in order that by a victory over them he might confirm the wavering courage of his soldiers, and alter any feelings of contempt which his foes might feel for him. His first conflict was with the Athenians,[1] whom he surprised by a stratagem, but — though he might have put them all to the sword — he yet, from dread of a more formidable war, allowed them to depart — uninjured, and without [even] a ransom. Later, leading his army against the Illyrians he slew several thousand of his enemies and took the famous city of Larissa. He then fell suddenly upon Thessaly (when it was fearful of anything but a war), — not from a desire of spoil, but because he wished to add the strength of

[1] Who sent a fleet to sustain one Manteias, a pretender to Philip's crown.

the Thessalian cavalry to his own troops; and he thus incorporated a force of horse and foot in one invincible army.

His undertakings having thus far prospered, he married Olympias, daughter of Neoptolemus, king of the Molossians [of Epirus]; her cousin-german, Arrybas, then king of that nation, who had brought up the young princess, and married her sister Troas, doing all he could to promote the union. This proceeding, however, proved to be the cause of Arrybas's downfall, and the beginning of all the evils that afterward befell him; for while he hoped to strengthen his kingdom by this connection with Philip, he was deprived of his crown by that very sovereign, and spent his old age in exile.

After these proceedings Philip, no longer content to act on the defensive, boldly attacked even those who had not injured him. While he was besieging Methone [a Greek town on the Thermaic Gulf in Macedonia], an arrow shot from the walls, as he was passing, struck out his right eye; but this wound did not make him less active in the siege, nor more resentful towards the enemy. In fact, some days after, he granted them peace when they asked it, on terms not only not rigorous, but even merciful, to the conquered.

104. How Demosthenes became an Orator

Plutarch, "Life of Demosthenes," chaps. IV–XI

Demosthenes (385 to 322 B.C.) is counted on the whole the greatest orator who ever lived. A statesman of perfect judgment he was not; much less was he an able general; it was, all considered, a good thing that the Greek system of petty, independent city-states, with their local feuds and inability to combine effectively for common ends, passed away in favor of the Macedonian Empire with its great mission to carry the Hellenic civilization over the broad East. But although not a man of absolutely spotless personal integrity, there is no doubt that through his whole life Demosthenes was moved by a love for

Athens, and used his matchless powers of eloquence in advocating what he conceived to be her true glory. The boyhood and early training of such an orator becomes naturally an important subject for study.

Demosthenes, the father of Demosthenes, was a citizen of good rank and quality, as Theopompus informs us, surnamed the Sword Maker, because he had a large workhouse, and kept servants skillful in that art at work. This at least is certain, that Demosthenes, being as yet but seven years old, was left by his father in affluent circumstances, the whole value of his estate being little short of fifteen talents, and that he was wronged by his guardians, part of his fortune being embezzled by them, and the rest neglected; insomuch that even his teachers were defrauded of their salaries. This was the reason that he did not obtain the liberal education that he should have had; besides that on account of weakness and delicate health, his mother would not let him exert himself, and his teachers forbore to urge him.

Why Demosthenes took to Oratory

The first occasion of his eager inclination to oratory, they say, was this. Callistratus, the orator, having to plead in open court for Oropus, the expectation of the issue of that cause was very great, as well for the ability of the orator, who was then at the height of his reputation, as also for the fame of the action itself. Therefore, Demosthenes, having heard the tutors and schoolmasters agreeing among themselves to be present at this trial, with much importunity persuades his tutor to take him along with him to the hearing; who, having some acquaintance with the doorkeepers, procured a place where the boy might sit unseen, and hear what was said. Callistratus having got the day, and being much admired, the boy began to look upon his glory with a kind of emulation, observing how he was courted on all

hands, and attended on his way by the multitude; but his wonder was more than all excited by the power of his eloquence, which seemed able to subdue and win over anything. From this time, therefore, bidding farewell to other sorts of learning and study, he now began to exercise himself, and to take pains in declaiming, as one that meant to be himself also an orator. He made use of Isæus as his guide to the art of speaking, though Isocrates at that time was giving lessons; whether, as some say, because he was an orphan, and was not able to pay Isocrates his appointed fee of ten minæ, or because he preferred Isæus's speaking, as being more businesslike and effective in actual use. Hermippus says that he met with certain memoirs without any author's name, in which it was written that Demosthenes was a scholar to Plato, and learnt much of his eloquence from him; and he also mentions Ctesibius, as reporting from Callias of Syracuse and some others, that Demosthenes secretly obtained a knowledge of the systems of Isocrates and Alcidamas, and mastered them thoroughly.

As soon, therefore, as he was grown up to man's estate, he began to go to law with his guardians, and to write orations against them; who, in the meantime, had recourse to various subterfuges and pleas for new trials, and Demosthenes, though he was thus, as Thucydides says, 'taught his business in dangers,' and by his own exertions was successful in his suit, was yet unable for all this to recover so much as a small fraction of his patrimony. He only attained some degree of confidence in speaking, and some competent experience in it. And having got a taste of the honor and power which are acquired by pleadings, he now ventured to come forth, and to undertake public business. And, as it is said of Laomedon, the Orchomenian, that by advice of his physician he used to run long distances to keep off some disease of his spleen, and by that means having, through labor and exercise, framed the habit of his body, he betook

himself to the 'great garland games,' and became one of the best runners at the long race; so it happened to Demosthenes, who, first venturing upon oratory for the recovery of his own private property, by this acquired ability in speaking, and at length, in public business, as it were in the great games, came to have the preëminence of all competitors in the assembly.

He appears as a Public Orator

When, however, he first addressed himself to the people, he met with great discouragements, and was derided for his strange and uncouth style, which was cumbered with long sentences and tortured with formal arguments to a most harsh and disagreeable excess. Besides, he had, it seems, a weakness in his voice, a perplexed and indistinct utterance, and a shortness of breath, which, by breaking and disjointing his sentences, much obscured the sense and meaning of what he spoke. So that in the end, being quite disheartened, he forsook the assembly; and as he was walking carelessly and sauntering about the Piræus, Eunomus, the Thriasian, then a very old man, seeing him, upbraided him, saying that his diction was very much like that of Pericles, and that he was wanting to himself through cowardice and meanness of spirit, neither bearing up with courage against popular outcry, nor fitting his body for action, but suffering it to languish through mere sloth and negligence.

[He then devoted himself to the study of oratory, especially that of physical expression, and came to realize that good enunciation and delivery were as important as excellent subject matter.]

Later he built himself a place to study in underground (which was still remaining in our time), and hither he would come constantly every day to form his action, and to exercise his voice; and here he would continue, oftentimes without intermission, two or three months together, shaving

one half of his head, that so for shame he might not go abroad, though he desired it ever so much.

His Methods of preparing Speeches

Nor was this all, but he also made his conversation with people abroad, his common speech, and his business, subservient to his studies, taking from hence occasions and arguments as matter to work upon. For as soon as he was parted from his company, down he would go at once into his study, and run over everything in order that had passed, and the reasons that might be alleged for and against it. Any speeches, also, that he was present at, he would go over again with himself, and reduce into periods; and whatever others spoke to him, or he to them, he would correct, transform, and vary several ways. Hence it was that he was looked upon as a person of no great natural genius, but one who owed all the power and ability he had in speaking to labor and industry. Of the truth of which it was thought to be no small sign, that he was very rarely heard to speak upon the occasion, but though he were by name frequently called upon by the people, as he sat in the assembly, yet he would not rise unless he had previously considered the subject, and came prepared for it. So that many of the popular pleaders used to make it a jest against him; and Pytheas once, scoffing at him, said that his arguments smelt of the lamp. To which Demosthenes gave the sharp answer, "It is true, indeed, Pytheas, that your lamp and mine are not conscious of the same things." To others, however, he would not much deny it, but would admit frankly enough that he neither entirely wrote his speeches beforehand, nor yet spoke wholly extempore. And he would affirm that it was the more truly popular act to use premeditation, such preparation being a kind of respect to the people; whereas, to slight and take no care how what is said is likely to be

received by the audience, shows something of an oligarchical temper, and is the course of one that intends force rather than persuasion. . . .

Demetrius, the Phalerian, tells us that he was informed by Demosthenes himself, now grown old, that the ways he made use of to remedy his natural bodily infirmities and defects were such as these: his inarticulate and stammering pronunciation he overcame and rendered more distinct by speaking with pebbles in his mouth; his voice he disciplined by declaiming and reciting speeches or verses when he was out of breath, while running or going up steep places; and that in his house he had a large looking-glass, before which he would stand and go through his exercises.

It is told that some one once came to request his assistance as a pleader, and related how he had been assaulted and beaten. "Certainly," said Demosthenes, "nothing of the kind can have happened to you." Upon which the other, raising his voice, exclaimed loudly, "What, Demosthenes, nothing has been done to me?" "Ah," replied Demosthenes, "now I hear the voice of one that *has* been injured and beaten." Of so great consequence towards the gaining of belief did he esteem the tone and action of the speaker. The action which he used himself was wonderfully pleasing to the common people; but by well-educated people, as, for example, by Demetrius the Phalerian, it was looked upon as mean, humiliating, and unmanly. And Hermippus says of Æsion,[1] that, being asked his opinion concerning the ancient orators and those of his own time, he answered that it was admirable to see with what composure and in what high style they addressed themselves to the people; but that the orations of Demosthenes, when they are *read*, certainly appear to be superior in point of construction, and more effective. His written speeches, beyond all question, are characterized by austere tone and by their severity. In

[1] An orator at Athens contemporary to Demosthenes.

his extempore retorts and rejoinders, he allowed himself the use of jest and mockery.

105. How Demosthenes tried to rouse his Fellow Athenians against Philip

Demosthenes, "Second Olynthiac Oration." Grote's Translation ("History of Greece," vol. XI, chap. 88)

While Philip of Macedon was in the first stages of his aggressive power, he was by no means so formidable that the Athenians could not have exerted themselves against him successfully. But in the disasters of the Peloponnesian War they had lost that tremendous energy and spirit of sacrifice which had wrought such wonders in the days of Cimon and Pericles. Demosthenes never ceased to urge the necessity of an extreme effort to beat back the aggressions of the king; but he gained no real response until it was too late. The passage quoted is from an oration of 349 B.C.

Here you are, Athenians, sitting still [while Philip is on the point of taking the important city of Olynthus] and doing nothing. The sluggard cannot even command his friends to work for him — much less the Gods. I do not wonder that Philip — always in the field, doing everything for himself, never letting slip an opportunity — prevails over you who merely talk, inquire, and vote, without action. Nay — the contrary would be wonderful, if under such circumstances he had *not* been the conqueror. But what I do wonder at is, that you Athenians, — who in former days contended for Panhellenic freedom against the Lacedæmonians, — who, scorning unjust aggrandizement for yourselves, fought in person and lavished your substance to protect the rights of other Greeks, — that *you* now shrink from personal service and payment of money for the defense of your own possessions. You, who have so often rescued others, can now sit still after having lost so much of your own! . . .

This [work of saving Olynthus and checking Philip] must

be done by ourselves, and at once. We must furnish money: we must serve in person by turns. We must give our generals means to do their work well, and then exact from them a severe account afterward — which we cannot do, so long as we ourselves will neither serve nor pay. . . . We must not only come forward vigorously and heartily, with person and property, but each man must embrace faithfully his fair share of patriotic obligation.

106. The Battle of Chæroneia

Diodorus Siculus, "History," book XVI, chap. 14

In 338 B.C. the liberty of the old Greek city-states was blasted at Chæroneia in Bœotia by the victory of Philip of Macedon. In the last crisis Athens and Thebes sank their old feuds and coöperated gallantly; but met disaster primarily because neither city was able to find even a good second-rate general to pit against Philip — a real genius for war — and against his admirably organized Macedonian army.

This battle implied the passing of the Greek system of city-states and the substitution of large military monarchies.

In the year Charondas was first archon in Athens, Philip, king of Macedon, being already in alliance with many of the Greeks, made it his chief business to subdue the Athenians, and thereby with the more ease control all Hellas. To this end he presently seized Elateia [a Phocian town commanding the mountain passes southward], in order to fall on the Athenians, imagining to overcome them with ease; since he conceived they were not at all ready for war, having so lately made peace with him. Upon the taking of Elateia, messengers hastened by night to Athens, informing the Athenians that the place was taken, and Philip was leading on his men in full force to invade Attica.

The Athenian magistrates in alarm had the trumpeters sound their warning all night, and the rumor spread with terrifying effect all through the city. At daybreak the

people without waiting the usual call of the magistrate rushed to the assembly place. Thither came the officials with the messenger; and when they had announced their business, fear and silence filled the place, and none of the customary speakers had heart to say a word. Although the herald called on everybody "to declare their minds" — as to what was to be done, yet none appeared; the people, therefore, in great terror cast their eyes on Demosthenes, who now arose, and bade them to be courageous, and forthwith to send envoys to Thebes to treat with the Bœotians to join in the defense of the common liberty; for there was no time (he said) to send an embassy for aid elsewhere, since Philip would probably invade Attica within two days, and seeing he must march through Bœotia, the only aid was to be looked for there.

Thebes makes Alliance with Athens

The people approved of his advice, and a decree was voted that such an embassy should be sent. As the most eloquent man for the task, Demosthenes was pitched upon, and forthwith he hastened away [to Thebes. — Despite past hostilities between Athens and Thebes, and the counter-arguments of Philip's envoys, Demosthenes persuaded Thebes and her Bœotian cities that *their* liberty as well as that of Athens was really at stake, and to join arms with the Athenians.[1]]

. . . When Philip could not prevail on the Bœotians to join him, he resolved to fight them both. To this end, after waiting for reënforcements, he invaded Bœotia with about thirty thousand foot and two thousand horse.

The Battle

Both armies were now ready to engage; they were equal indeed in courage and personal valor, but in numbers and

[1] A remarkable piece of diplomacy and eloquence, of which Demosthenes was justly proud.

military experience a great advantage lay with the king. For he had fought many battles, gained most of them, and so learned much about war, but [the best] Athenian generals were now dead, and Chares — the chief of them still remaining — differed but little from a common private in all that pertained to true generalship. About sunrise [at Chæroneia in Bœotia] the two armies arrayed themselves for battle. The king ordered his son Alexander, who had just become of age, yet already was giving clear signs of his martial spirit, to lead one wing, though joined to him were some of the best of his generals. Philip himself, with a picked corps, led the other wing, and arranged the various brigades at such posts as the occasion demanded. The Athenians drew up their army, leaving one part to the Bœotians, and leading the rest themselves.

At length the hosts engaged, and the battle was fierce and bloody. It continued long with fearful slaughter, but victory was uncertain, until Alexander, anxious to give his father proof of his valor, — and followed by a courageous band, — was the first to break through the main body of the enemy, directly opposing him, slaying many; and bore down all before him, — and his men, pressing on closely, cut to pieces the lines of the enemy; and after the ground had been piled with the dead, put the wing resisting him in flight. The king, too, at the head of his corps, fought with no less boldness and fury, that the glory of victory might not be attributed to his son. He forced the enemy resisting him also to give ground, and at length completely routed them, and so was the chief instrument of the victory.

Results of the Battle

Over one thousand Athenians fell, and two thousand were made prisoners. A great number of the Bœotians, too, perished, and many more were captured by the enemy. . . .

. . . [After some boastful conduct by the king, thanks to the influence of Demades, an Athenian orator who had been captured], Philip sent ambassadors to Athens and renewed the peace with her [on very tolerable terms, leaving her most of her local liberties]. He also made peace with the Bœotians, but placed a garrison in Thebes. Having thus struck terror into the leading Greek states, he made it his chief effort to be chosen generalissimo of all Greece. It being noised abroad that he would make war upon the Persians, on behalf of the Greeks, in order to avenge the impieties committed by them against the Greek gods, he presently won public favor over to his side throughout Greece. He was very liberal and courteous, also, to both private citizens and communities, and proclaimed to the cities 'that he wished to consult with them as to the common good.' Whereupon a general Council [of the Greek cities] was convened at Corinth, where he declared his design of making war on the Persians, and the reasons he hoped for success; and therefore desired the Council to join him as allies in the war. At length he was created general of all Greece, with absolute power, and having made mighty preparations and assigned the contingents to be sent by each city, he returned to Macedonia [where, soon after, he was murdered by Pausanius, a private enemy].

107. Alexander's Tribute to the Transformation Philip wrought in Macedonia

Arrian, "Alexander," book VII, chap. 9. Bohn Translation

The magnitude of the work done in and for Macedon by Philip is admirably summarized by his son Alexander, in a speech delivered to a band of mutineers in his army. (Opis in Babylonia, 324 B.C.) Alexander undertook to charge the malcontents with ingratitude to his dynasty, and recounted his own and his father's vast services to them.

He [Philip] found you vagabonds and destitute, most of you clad in hides, feeding a few sheep up the mountain sides for the protection of which you had to fight with small success against Illyrians, Triballians, and the border Thracians. Instead of the hides he gave you cloaks to wear, and from the mountains he led you down into the plains, and made you capable of fighting the neighboring barbarians so that you were no longer forced to save yourselves by trusting more to your inaccessible strongholds than to your valor. Colonists of cities, too, he made you, and he adorned [his cities] with useful laws and customs; and from being slaves and subjects he made you rulers over the very barbarians by whom you yourselves, as well as your property, had previously been liable to be carried off or ravaged.

Then again he added the bulk of Thrace to Macedonia, and by seizing the best situated places on the coast, he made the land prosper by commerce, and made the workings of the mines safe business. He made you rulers over the Thessalians — of whom you had once been mortally afraid; and by humbling the folk of the Phocians, he made the road into Hellas broad for you and easy — not narrow and difficult as before. The Athenians and Thebans, always waiting to assail Macedonia, he humbled to such a degree . . . that instead of paying tribute to Athens and being vassals to Thebes, those states must perforce get security for themselves by our aid. He penetrated into Peloponnesus, and, after regulating its affairs, was publicly declared commander in chief for all the rest of Hellas in the expedition against the Persian, adding this glory not more to himself than to the commonwealth of the Macedonians.

These then were the advantages which you gained from my father Philip!

CHAPTER IX

ALEXANDER, AMALGAMATOR OF EAST AND WEST

To few human beings has it been given to perform so notable a work as that wrought by Alexander of Macedon, the greater son of a great father. But for him Greek civilization with all its noble flower might have remained the mere ornament of a single race, destined to wither and die with little effect upon distant history. Alexander gave Greek civilization to the outside world. Thanks to him and to his mighty successors, the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ, Greek was to become the dominant language, and Greek modes of thought and art the dominant cultural factors in Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, in fact, in all the nearer Orient; while a line of kings affecting Greek names and traditions was actually to reign on the confines of India. The work of Christianity would have been infinitely hampered if the Greek language had not been ready at hand, understood by Jew and Gentile alike, for the use of the Evangelists and of St. Paul. Later the Romans themselves were to become real exponents of Alexander's tradition, and to aid in the diffusion of actual Hellenic culture in the East; just as they diffused the profoundly Hellenized Latin culture in the west of Europe. The cardinal events in the career of Alexander have therefore a prime importance in universal history. Most of the extracts here presented are from Arrian, who is on the whole his best biographer.

108. The Youth of Alexander the Great

Plutarch, "Life of Alexander the Great," chaps. III–VIII

Alexander the Great lived only from 356 to 323 B.C., yet, barring Julius Cæsar, perhaps no other secular personage ever put so great an impress on history as he. Despite some undesirable qualities, he seems to have been in the main a gallant cavalier and a high-minded friend; chivalrous, generous, and capable of winning the

abiding love of strong men. In battle he would expose himself with a recklessness seemingly mere folly in a great commander. He surpassed in all those athletic sports which were the delight of the Hellenes. Although king of a people that were only semi Greek, he went into the war with Persia as the enthusiastic champion of Hellenic culture and light as against barbarism and darkness. The story of his boyhood and education explains much of what followed in his after career.

Alexander was born the sixth of Hecatombæon,[1] which month the Macedonians call Lous, the same day that the temple of Artemis at Ephesus was burnt.

Just after Philip had taken Potidæa, he received these three messages at one time: that Parmenio had overthrown the Illyrians in a great battle, that his race horse had won the course at the Olympic games, and that his wife had given birth to Alexander; with which being naturally well pleased as an addition to his satisfaction, he was assured by the diviners that a son, whose birth was accompanied with three such successes, could not fail of being invincible.

Alexander's temperance, as to the pleasures of the body, was apparent in him in his very childhood, as he was with much difficulty incited to them, and always used them with great moderation; though in other things he was extremely eager and vehement, and in his love of glory, and the pursuit of it, he showed a solidity of high spirit and magnanimity far above his age. For he neither sought nor valued it upon every occasion, as his father Philip did (who affected to show his eloquence almost to a degree of pedantry, and took care to have the victories of his racing chariots at the Olympic games engraven on his coin), but when he was asked by some about him, whether he would run a race in the Olympic games, as he was very swift-footed, he answered, he would, if he might have kings to run with him. Indeed, he seems in general to have looked with indifference,

[1] The Attic month of July.

if not with dislike, upon the professed athletes. He often appointed prizes, for which not only tragedians and musicians, pipers and harpers, but rhapsodists also, strove to outvie one another; and delighted in all manner of hunting and cudgel playing, but never gave any encouragement to contests either of boxing or of the pancratium.[1]

His Ambitions and Education in Boyhood

While he was yet very young, he entertained the ambassadors from the king of Persia, in the absence of his father, and entering much into conversation with them, gained so much upon them by his affability, and the questions he asked them, which were far from being childish or trifling (for he inquired of them the length of the ways, the nature of the roads into inner Asia, the character of their king, how he carried himself to his enemies, and what forces he was able to bring into the field), that they were struck with admiration of him, and looked upon the ability so much famed of Philip to be nothing in comparison with the forwardness and high purpose that appeared thus early in his son. Whenever he heard Philip had taken any town of importance, or won any signal victory, instead of rejoicing at it altogether, he would tell his companions that his father would anticipate everything, and leave him and them no opportunities of performing great and illustrious actions. For being more bent upon action and glory than either upon pleasure or riches, he esteemed all that he should receive from his father as a diminution and prevention of his own future achievements; and would have chosen rather to succeed to a kingdom involved in troubles and wars, which would have afforded him frequent exercise of his courage, and a large field of honor, than to one already flourishing and settled, where his inheritance would be an inactive life, and the mere enjoyment of wealth and luxury.

[1] A brutal combination of boxing and wrestling.

The care of his education, as it might be presumed, was committed to a great many attendants, preceptors, and teachers, over the whole of whom Leonidas, a near kinsman of Olympias, a man of an austere temper, presided, who did not indeed himself decline the name of what in reality is a noble and honorable office,[1] but in general his dignity, and his near relationship, obtained him from other people the title of Alexander's foster father and governor. But he who took upon him the actual place and style of his pedagogue, was Lysimachus the Acarnanian, who, though he had nothing specially to recommend him, but his lucky fancy of calling himself Phœnix, Alexander Achilles, and Philip Peleus, was therefore well enough esteemed, and ranked in the next degree after Leonidas.

How Alexander subdued Bucephalus

Philonicus the Thessalian brought the horse Bucephalus to Philip, offering to sell him for thirteen talents; but when they went into the field to try him, they found him so very vicious and unmanageable, that he reared up when they endeavored to mount him, and would not so much as endure the voice of any of Philip's attendants. Upon which, as they were leading him away as wholly useless and untractable, Alexander, who stood by, said, "What an excellent horse do they lose, for want of address and boldness to manage him!" Philip at first took no notice of what he said; but when he heard him repeat the same thing several times, and saw he was much vexed to see the horse sent away, "Do you reproach," said he to him, "those who are older than yourself, as if you knew more, and were better able to manage him than they?" "I could manage this horse," replied he, "better than others do." "And if you

[1] The paidagogus or pædagogus was usually a slave, who took the boy to and from school.

do not," said Philip, "what will you forfeit for your rashness?" "I will pay," answered Alexander, "the whole price of the horse." At this the whole company fell a laughing; and as soon as the wager was settled amongst them, he immediately ran to the horse, and, taking hold of the bridle, turned him directly towards the sun, having, it seems, observed that he was disturbed at and afraid of the motion of his own shadow; then letting him go forward a little, still keeping the reins in his hand, and stroking him gently when he found him begin to grow eager and fiery, he let fall his upper garment softly, and with one nimble leap securely mounted him, and when he was seated, by little and little drew in the bridle, and curbed him without either striking or spurring him. Presently, when he found him free from all rebelliousness, and only impatient for the course, he let him go at full speed, inciting him now with a commanding voice, and urging him also with his heel. Philip and his friends looked on at first in silence and anxiety for the result, till, seeing him turn at the end of his career, and come back rejoicing and triumphing for what he had performed, they all burst out into acclamations of applause; and his father, shedding tears, it is said, for joy, kissed him as he came down from his horse, and in his transport said, "O my son, look thee out a kingdom equal to and worthy of thyself, for Macedonia is too little for thee."

Alexander is trained by Aristotle

After this, considering him to be of a temper easy to be led to his duty by reason, but by no means to be compelled, he always endeavored to persuade rather than to command or force him to anything; and now looking upon the instruction and tuition of his youth to be of greater difficulty and importance than to be wholly trusted to the ordinary masters in music and poetry, and the common school subjects, and to require, as Sophocles says, —

"The bridle and the rudder too,"

he sent for Aristotle, the most learned and most celebrated philosopher of his time, and rewarded him with a munificence proportionable to and becoming the care he took to instruct his son. For he repeopled his native city Stagira, which he had caused to be demolished a little before, and restored all the citizens who were in exile or slavery, to their habitations. As a place for the pursuit of their studies and exercises, he assigned the temple of the Nymphs, near Mieza, where, to this very day, they show you Aristotle's stone seats, and the shady walks which he was wont to frequent. It would appear that Alexander received from him not only his doctrines of Morals, and of Politics, but also something of those more abstruse and profound theories which these philosophers, by the very names they gave them, professed to reserve for oral communication to the initiated, and did not allow many to become acquainted with. For when he was in Asia, and heard Aristotle had published some treatises of that kind, he wrote to him, using very plain language to him in behalf of philosophy, the following letter: "Alexander to Aristotle greeting. You have not done well to publish your books of oral doctrine; for what is there now that we excel others in, if those things which we have been particularly instructed in be laid open to all? For my part, I assure you, I had rather excel others in the knowledge of what is excellent, than in the extent of my power and dominion. Farewell." And Aristotle, soothing this passion for preëminence, speaks, in his excuse for himself, of these doctrines, as in fact both published and not published; as indeed, to say the truth, his books on metaphysics are written in a style which makes them useless for ordinary teaching, and instructive only, in the way of memoranda, for those who have been already conversant in that sort of learning. He was naturally a great lover of all kinds of learning and reading; and Onesicritus informs us

that he constantly laid Homer's "Iliad," according to the copy corrected by Aristotle, called the casket copy, with his dagger under his pillow, declaring that he esteemed it a perfect portable treasure of all military virtue and knowledge. When he was in the upper Asia, being destitute of other books, he ordered Harpalus to send him some; who furnished him with Philistus's "History," a great many of the plays of Euripides, Sophocles, and Æschylus, and some dithyrambic odes, composed by Telestes and Philoxenus.

109. How Alexander drew up his Phalanx

Arrian, "Alexander," book I, chap. 6. Bohn Translation

Alexander's most famous military arm was his phalanx, — the solid array of Macedonian footmen armed with *sarissæ*, spears about 18 feet long. Such a spear hedge was practically impenetrable. But Alexander did not simply use the phalanx in line of battle on level ground. He had a number of formations which he could employ according to circumstances, as here illustrated. Again, he seldom depended in battle upon the phalanx alone; rather it was used to hold the enemy in check, while his splendid "Companion" cavalry crushed the foe by flank and rear charges.

[Alexander being on the point of engaging the Taulantians, a people of Illyria to the north of Macedonia], drew up his army in such a way that the depth of the phalanx was 120 men, and stationing 200 cavalry on each wing he ordered them to keep silence, and receive the word of command quickly. Accordingly he gave the signal to the heavy-armed infantry in the first place to hold their spears erect, and then to couch them at the concerted sign; at one time to incline their spears to the right, closely locked together — at another towards the left. He then set the phalanx itself into quick motion forward, and marched it toward the wings [of the whole line of battle], now to the right, and now to the left. After thus arranging and rearranging his lines many times very rapidly, he at last formed his phalanx into

a sort of wedge, and led it towards the left against the enemy, who had long been in a state of amazement at seeing both the order and the rapidity of his evolutions. Consequently they did not sustain Alexander's attack, but quitted the first ridges of the mountain. Upon this, Alexander ordered the Macedonians to raise the battle cry, and to make a clatter with their spears upon their shields, and the Taulantians — being still more alarmed at the noise — led their army back to their city at full speed.

110. Alexander's Answer to the Petition of Darius for Peace

Arrian, "Alexander," book II, chap. 14. Bohn Translation

Very few of the laws and proclamations of the great Macedonian have come down to us in original form; consequently this letter, which is really what Alexander intended to be a statement of his motives in waging the war, has no slight importance. Of course, it gives what Alexander wished the Asiatics to *believe* were the facts, rather than the facts as ascertained by impartial history. The style of the letter seems to be Alexander's own, and shows how he could assume the tone of an Eastern despot.

[After the battle of Issus (333 B.C.), Darius III of Persia sent envoys to Alexander, entreating the restoration of his mother, wife, and children, and desiring friendship and alliance; in reply Alexander sent the following uncompromising letter.]

Your ancestors came into Macedonia and the rest of Greece and treated us ill, though not wronged by us. I, who have been appointed Captain General of the Hellenes, desiring to take vengeance on the Persians, crossed over into Asia, after you had begun the fighting. For you sent aid to the Perinthians,[1] who were dealing unjustly with my father; and Ochus [your predecessor] sent forces into Thrace, which was under our rule. My father was killed by conspirators whom you instigated, as you yourself boasted to all in your

[1] Who had been besieged by Philip.

letters,[1] and, after seizing the throne yourself contrary to Persian law, and ruling your subjects unjustly, you sent unfriendly letters about me to the Greeks, urging them to wage war with me. You have also dispatched money to the Lacedæmonians, and certain other Greeks; but none of the states received it, save only the Lacedæmonians. As your agents corrupted my friends and were striving to dissolve the league which I had formed against the Greeks, I took the field against you, because you were the party who began the strife.

Since now I have vanquished your generals and satraps in the former battle [of the Granicus], and now you yourself and your forces in like manner, I am — by the gift of the gods — in possession of your land. As many of the men who fought in your army as were not slain in the battle, but fled to me for refuge, I am protecting. They are with me not perforce, but serve me as volunteers. Come to me, therefore, — for *I* am the lord of all Asia. If you are fearful of severity from me should you come, send some friends to obtain safe pledges from me. Come to me, then, and ask for your mother, wife, children, and aught else that you desire. For whatsoever you ask, you shall receive. Nothing shall be denied you.

For the future, however, whenever you communicate, send to me as to "The King of Asia"; and address not to *me* your wishes as to an equal. If you need anything, address me as the man who is lord of all your lands. If you do otherwise, I will consider how to reward you as a malefactor. If you question my right to lordship, stay and fight another battle for it. But do not run away; for wherever you may be, thither will I march to attack you.[2]

[1] Probably Darius had no part in the death of Philip, though he perhaps claimed it to gain favor with the Anti-Macedonian party in Greece.

[2] NOTE TO THIS LETTER. — This letter contains several errors in the Greek, proving that Alexander wrote it *himself*, — for he certainly had secretaries whose style would have been models of Attic elegance after the manner of the great stylist, Isocrates.

111. The Founding of Alexandria by Alexander the Great

Arrian, "Alexander," book III, chap. 1. Bohn Translation

Alexandria in Egypt was founded by the Conqueror in 332 B.C., as a Greek city, to be the link betwixt Hellas and Egypt, replacing the older and inconveniently located Naucratis. Nothing better illustrates the prescience of Alexander than the selection of this site, which is the best point for a great commercial metropolis along the whole Egyptian coast. The city soon grew to a size far surpassing the most optimistic expectations. Alexander was a mighty city founder. At least nine other "Alexandrias" lay scattered over the Græco-Oriental world, whereof four were of considerable importance.

[When Alexander had entered Egypt and received the submission of the population], from Memphis he sailed down the river towards the sea, . . . coming to Canopus he . . . disembarked where is now situated the city of Alexandria, which takes its name from him. The position seemed to him a very fine spot on which to found a city, and he thought it would become a prosperous one. Therefore he was seized by an ardent desire to undertake the enterprise, and he marked out the boundaries of the city himself, pointing out the place where the market place was to be located; where the temples were to be built, stating how many there were to be, and to what Grecian gods they were to be dedicated, and specially marking a spot for a temple to the Egyptian Isis. He also pointed out where the wall was to be carried out. The soothsayers [pondering upon certain lucky omens] told Alexander that the city would become prosperous in every respect, but especially in regard to the fruits of the earth.

112. Darius's Army at Arbela

Arrian, "Alexander," book III, chap. 8. Bohn Translation

Despite the experience of one hundred and fifty years of warfare with the Greeks, the Persians had learned little about field tactics and the proper composition of armies. On the eve of the battle of Arbela (more properly "The Plains of Gaugamela")[1] in October 331 B.C., Darius III had an army of almost the same type as the lumbering host of Xerxes; and in the actual battle he did not use it more skillfully.

The Indians who were neighbors to the Bactrians, likewise the Bactrians themselves and the Sogdianians, had come to the aid of Darius, all under the lead of Bessus, satrap of the Bactrian lands. They were followed by the Sacians, a Scythian tribe belonging to the Scythians who dwell in Asia.[2] These were not subject to Bessus, but were in alliance with Darius. . . .

[There were besides these Arachotians, and mountaineer Indians, Areians, Parthians, Hyrcanians, Tapurians, Medes, Susianians, Carians, Babylonians, Armenians, and Syrians, and others — in short, men from practically every folk of the nearer and central Orient.]

The whole army of Darius was said to contain 40,000 cavalry, 1,000,000 infantry, and 200 scythe-bearing chariots. There were only a few elephants, some 15, belonging to the Indians from the nearer side of the Indus. With these forces Darius had encamped at Gaugamela, near the river Bumodus, about 600 stadia [some 67 miles] distant from the city of Arbela, in a district everywhere level; for whatever ground thereabouts was unlevel and unfit for the evolutions of cavalry had been leveled by the Persians, and

[1] The Plains of Gaugamela where the battle occurred were some 50 miles west of Arbela; but Darius had his headquarters in the latter city, just before the combat.

[2] As opposed to the European Scythians north of the Danube.

made fit for the easy rolling of chariots and for the galloping of horses. For there were some who persuaded Darius that he had forsooth got the worst of it in the [previous] battle at Issus, from the narrowness of the battle field, and this he was easily induced to believe.

113. Alexander before the Battle of Arbela

Arrian, "Alexander," book III, chaps. 9 and 10. Bohn Translation

Alexander realized that his victory of Issus had decided nothing. To render himself the undisputed Emperor of Asia, it was necessary to rout the "Great King" in fair battle, with all Darius's hordesmen about him. Such a victory would strike lasting terror into the Orientals. Alexander therefore prepared for this decisive battle with a caution which seldom characterized his movements. The results were the direct fruit of his carefully exercised skill.

When Alexander had received full information from the Persian scouts that had been captured [as to Darius's army] he remained four days in the place where he had received the news and gave his army rest after the march. . . . [Then he advanced cautiously]: and when he was only 30 stadia [about $3\frac{1}{3}$ miles] from the enemy, and his army was already marching down from a hill . . . catching sight of the Barbarians he caused his phalanx there to halt. Calling a council of the "Companions," generals, cavalry officers, and leaders of the Greek allies, and mercenaries, he deliberated with them, whether he should lead the phalanx without delay, as most of them urged him to do, or whether, as Parmenio[1] thought preferable, to encamp there for the present, to reconnoiter all the ground, in order to see if there was anything to excite suspicion, or impede their progress, or if there were ditches or stakes planted out of sight, as well as to get a clearer idea of the enemies' tactical arrangements. Parmenio's opinion prevailed, so they encamped there, drawn up in battle order [and Alexander with a small escort recon-

[1] An experienced and elderly general.

noitered, then returned and urged his captains to valor, and bade them each rouse their own men to great exertions.

He assured them that in *this* battle the stake was not as before either Lower Syria, or Phœnicia, or Egypt, but it was the whole of Asia. For he asserted that "*this battle would decide who were to be the rulers of the continent.*" It was not needful for him to stir them up by many words — this encouragement they had by nature; but they should see that each man took care, so far as in him lay, to preserve discipline in the critical moment of action, and to keep perfect silence when it was expedient to advance in silence. On the other hand, they should see that each man uttered a mighty shout, when it was advantageous to shout; and to raise as terrible a battle cry as possible, when a suitable opportunity came to raise the battle cry. He told them to take pains to obey his orders quickly, and to transmit orders they had received to the ranks with all rapidity; each man remembering that both as an individual and in the aggregate he was increasing the general danger if he was slack in his duty, and that he was helping to victory if he strove to the uttermost.

Alexander then ordered his soldiers to take dinner and to rest themselves. It is said that Parmenio came to him in his tent and urged him to make a night attack upon the Persians, saying that thus he would strike them unprepared and in a state of confusion, and at the same time more liable to a panic in the dark. But [Alexander replied . . .] that, "It would be mean to *steal* a victory; and he ought to conquer in open day and without artifice."

[His reasons for this answer were probably not vainglory, but because if any accident befell and the Macedonians were worsted, they, as strangers in the country, would probably be caught in the night and surrounded by their foes.][1]

[1] Besides, the moral effect of a victory over Darius if gained in fair fight would be vastly greater.

114. The Battle of Arbela or Gaugamela

Arrian, "Alexander," book III, chaps. 11–14. Bohn Translation

Alexander won this decisive battle by using his phalanx with admirable effect in restraining the charges of the enemy, while with his dashing cavalry he penetrated the Barbarian lines. He particularly directed his charge against the position of Darius himself, well knowing — after an experience at the earlier battle of Issus — that if once their king were put to flight, the Orientals would become demoralized.

[Darius drew up his men, stationing himself with his picked Persians in the center, on either side a host of Greek mercenaries and Indian auxiliaries. Strengthening the center were many Babylonians. On the left wing besides the masses of Asiatic hordesmen were 100 scythe-bearing chariots; on the right the Medes, Sacæ, and many other brave tribal contingents. The Barbarian host far outflanked the inferior numbers of Alexander.

Alexander posted on his left the confederate Greeks and the Thessalian cavalry under Parmenio, in the center his phalanx, to the right his hypaspists (semi-light infantry) and his "Companion" Macedonian cavalry, his best corps. Covering the flanks to guard against a rear attack were some special divisions of cavalry, archers, and javelin men.]

How the Battle Opened

When the armies drew near each other, Darius[1] and the men especially around him were observed opposite Alexander himself and his royal squadron of cavalry. Alexander led his own army more towards the right, and the Persians marched parallel along with him, far outflanking him upon their left. Then the Scythian cavalry rode along the line and came into conflict with the front men of Alexander's army; nevertheless he still continued to march towards the right, and almost entirely got beyond the ground that had been cleared and leveled by the Persians.

[1] Doubtless in a very splendid and conspicuous chariot.

Then Darius, fearing that his chariots would become useless if the Macedonians advanced upon the uneven ground, ordered the front ranks of his left wing to ride round the right wing of the Macedonians, where Alexander was commanding, to prevent him from marching his wing any further.

[This led to countermoves by Alexander and precipitated a general cavalry engagement; the Greeks suffered severely, but sustained the assaults, and] assailing the enemy violently squadron by squadron, succeeded in pushing them out of rank. Meanwhile the Barbarians launched the scythed-chariots against Alexander himself, to throw his phalanx into confusion; but in this they were grievously deceived. For as soon as they approached the [Macedonian] javelin men, who had been posted in front of the 'Companion' cavalry, hurled their darts at some of the horses; others they seized by the reins and pulled the drivers off, and standing round the horses killed them. Yet some got right through the ranks; for the men stood apart, and opened their ranks, as they had been taught, wherever the chariots attacked. Thus commonly the chariots went through safely, and their drivers were unhurt, but the [rear guard] later overpowered them.

Alexander charges Himself

As soon as Darius set his whole battle line in motion, Alexander ordered Aretes to attack those who were riding clear around his right wing; and up to that time he was himself leading his men in column. But when the Persians made a break in the front line of their army, when their cavalry charged to aid those executing the flanking movement, Alexander wheeled towards the gap, and forming a wedge as it were of the 'Companion' cavalry and of the part of the phalanx which was posted here, he led them with a quick charge, and a loud battle cry *straight towards*

Darius. Then came a short hand-to-hand mêlée; but when the Macedonian horse, led by Alexander himself, pressed on vigorously, thrusting themselves against the Persians and striking their faces with their spears, and when the Macedonian phalanx in dense array, bristling with long pikes, had joined in the attack, general terror smote Darius, whose courage already had been shaken; so that he was the first to turn and flee. Likewise the Persians who were trying to outflank, panic-stricken at the vigorous attack of Aretes, took to flight; and in this quarter the Macedonians chased after and slaughtered the fugitives.

The Final Rout of the Asiatics

[Elsewhere on the battle field, however, the Persians pressed boldly; broke through the Macedonian line and began to plunder Alexander's camp; while others attacked Parmenio's division on the flank, putting it in great straits. At the news of Parmenio's peril] Alexander turned back from the pursuit, and wheeling round with the 'Companion' cavalry[1] led them at full speed against the Barbarian's right wing. Here ensued the most obstinately contested cavalry fight in the whole battle. For drawn up by squadrons, the foreigners wheeled round in deep column, and falling on Alexander's men face to face, no longer relied on javelin casting, or skillful deploying of horses, as is usual in cavalry battles, but every man for himself strove desperately to break through what stood in his way, as his only means of safety. Here about 60 of Alexander's 'Companions' fell [and several leaders] were wounded. But these foes, too, Alexander overcame; and such as could force their way through his ranks fled with all their might.

Meantime [ere Alexander could come to their help] the

[1] It shows a wonderful state of discipline that the "Companion" horse just after winning one battle could be diverted to another.

Thessalian cavalry [under Parmenio] in a splendid struggle were not falling short of Alexander's own success in the combat. For the Barbarians on the right wing were already beginning to fly when he came on the scene of [this] conflict; so that again he wheeled, and started in pursuit of Darius once more, keeping up the chase while daylight lasted. [After resting his men till midnight, Alexander pursued again all next day, but did not take the king, for] Darius went on fleeing without any rest. However, the money and all his other wealth were captured, likewise his chariot; and his spear and bow were also taken, as they had been after Issus.

Of Alexander's men about 100 were killed and more than 1000 of his horses; either from wounds or exhausted in the pursuit. . . . Of the Barbarians there are said to have been 300,000 slain, and far more taken prisoners than were killed.[1]

115. How the News of Alexander's Conquests affected the Greeks

Æschines's Oration, "Against Ctesiphon"

The victories of Alexander over Darius, reported successively in Greece, struck both his friends and foes with unparalleled astonishment. This is voiced (330 B.C.) in the speech by Æschines, Demosthenes's opponent, which called forth the latter's famous "Oration on the Crown." The Great King of Persia had passed for centuries as almost a god in power and prosperity.

Of all the strange and unexpected things possible, what is there that has not befallen in our day? Our lives have transcended the limits of humanity; we are born to serve as a theme for tales incredible to men after us. For behold, is not the king of Persia himself — he who digged

[1] The statement by Alexander's other biographer, Curtius, — 40,000 Persians and about 390 Macedonians slain, — is far more within bounds of reason.

through Athos and bridged the Hellespont — he who demanded earth and water of the Hellenes, — who dared to declare himself in his dispatches "Lord of all Peoples from the Sunrise to the Sunset," — is not *he* now struggling, not for his lordship over the nations, but actually for his own personal safety?

116. The Murder of Clitus by Alexander

Arrian, "Alexander," book IV, chap. 8. Bohn Translation

As Alexander passed from victory to victory, and seemed more than ever the favorite of the gods, it was only human that his head should become turned, — especially as he was now surrounded by servile Oriental flatterers. As a result he began to exhibit an irresponsible spirit, and to give way to fits of passion that sometimes culminated in real crimes. The most famous of these crimes was the murder of Clitus, a general and friend who had saved his life at the battle of the Granicus (334 B.C.). The crime occurred at the Macedonian camp in the heart of Asia (Sogdiana) in 328 B.C.

The Macedonians kept a feast day to Dionysus, and on that day Alexander was wont to offer him sacrifice each year. . . . Now it befell that the drinking party on this occasion had already gone on too long — for Alexander had made innovations even in regard to drinking, imitating overmuch the custom of the Barbarians — and in the midst of the carouse a discussion had arisen about the twin gods [Castor and Polydeuces] . . . some of those present to flatter Alexander, asserting that "they were in no wise worthy to compare with him and his exploits!" Such men have always destroyed and will not cease to ruin the interests of those who happen to be reigning. In their carousal they did not even refrain from comparing him to Heracles; saying that "envy stood in the way of the living getting the honors due them from their associates."

It was generally known that Clitus [a most trusted and important officer] had long been vexed at Alexander for the change in his style of living in excessive imitation of foreign customs, and at those who flattered him with their speech. At that time, too, being heated with wine, he would not suffer them either to insult the deity, or, by deprecating the deeds of ancient heroes, confer on Alexander this gratification which deserved no thanks. He affirmed that Alexander's deeds were neither in fact at all so great or marvelous as the others represented; nor had he wrought them *himself*, but for the most part they were the deeds of the Macedonians. [This speech annoyed Alexander; and some present retorted by declaring *Philip's* actions had been nothing marvelous . . .] to which Clitus, unable to contain himself, replied by putting Philip's deeds in the first rank, and deprecating Alexander and his deeds. Clitus was now quite drunken . . . and even reviled the king, because he had saved his life in the cavalry mêlée with the Persians at the Granicus. Then indeed, arrogantly stretching out his right hand, he asserted, "This hand, O Alexander, saved thee *then!*"

Alexander now could no longer endure his drunken insolence, but leaped up against him in fury; but his boon companions restrained him. As Clitus did not stop his insults, Alexander shouted out for his "shield bearers"[1] to attend him; but no one obeyed him [in view of his condition. . . .] Then his companions could restrain him no longer. According to some accounts he sprang up and snatched a javelin from one of his body-guards; according to others a long pike from one of his other guards with which he struck Clitus and killed him. . . . [According to one account] Clitus was led away by Ptolemy, son of Lagus, through the gateway beyond the wall and ditch of the citadel where the quarrel occurred. Then Clitus, who could not control himself, went back again; and falling

[1] His personal guards.

in with Alexander, who was calling out for "Clitus!" exclaimed, "Alexander, here I am — Clitus!" Thereupon he was struck with a long pike and killed.

[The remorse of Alexander for this deed was terrible; some accounts say] he propped the pike against the wall with the intent of falling upon it himself, thinking it was not proper for him to live, who had killed his friend, while mastered by wine. . . . He ceased not calling himself "the murderer of his friend," and for three days rigidly abstained from food and drink, and paid no attention to his personal appearance.

[His flatterers presently comforted him, however, urging that Clitus had been doomed by divine justice, and had brought on his own fate — and Alexander recovered his spirits and resumed the leadership of the army.]

117. How Alexander tried to commingle East and West

Arrian "Alexander" book VII, chap. 4. Bohn Translation

Alexander had gone forth as the Captain General of Hellas to avenge the invasion of Xerxes. As victory came to him beyond expectation, his views gradually changed. He wished to be in a manner "Emperor" of the whole world, and to fuse East and West into one great civilized society. To this end he strove to break down the social barriers betwixt Hellene and Barbarian. The task would have proved a supremely difficult one even for an Alexander, and his sudden death practically put an end to the highly interesting experiment.

In Susa [after his return from the far East] he celebrated both his own wedding and those of his companions. He himself married Barsine, the eldest daughter of Darius, and according to [his biographer] Aristobulus, besides her yet another Parysatis, the youngest daughter of Darius. He had already married Roxana, daughter of Oxyartes the

Bactrian.[1] [To each of his leading generals he gave a noble Asiatic lady to wife.] Likewise to the rest of his 'Companions' he gave the choicest daughters of the Persians and Medes to the number of 80. The weddings were celebrated after the Persian manner, seats being placed in a row for the bridegrooms; and after the banquet the brides came in and seated themselves each one near her own husband. The bridegrooms took them by the right hand and kissed them; the king being the first to begin, for the weddings were all conducted in the same way.

This appeared the most popular thing which Alexander ever did; and it proved his affection for his 'Companions.' Each man took his own bride and led her away; and on all without exception Alexander bestowed dowries. He also ordered that the names of all the other Macedonians who had married Asiatic women should be registered. They were over 10,000 in number; and to these Alexander made presents on account of their weddings.

How Alexander rewarded his Veterans

He thought it a good opportunity now to discharge the debts of all his soldiers; to that end he ordered that a register should be made of how much each man owed in order that they might get the money. At first only a few registered [many fearing this was a device to catch spendthrifts, whereupon Alexander complained they were wrong in distrusting him]. Accordingly he had tables placed in camp with money upon them; and he appointed paymasters. He ordered the debts of all who showed a money bond to be discharged without the debtors' names being registered. Thus the men believed Alexander was sincere; and the fact they were not known was even greater pleasure than the mere getting out of debt. This presentation to the army is said to have amounted to 20,000 talents [over $20,000,000].

[1] Alexander was thus setting up a harem like an Oriental king.

He also gave special presents to particular individuals, according as each man was held in honor for his conspicuous merit or valor in crises of danger. [Thus many received golden chaplets of honor.]

The Enlisting of Asiatics in the Army

The viceroys from the newly built cities and the rest of the conquered lands came [now] to him, bringing with them the youths just growing into manhood to the number of 30,000 — all of the same age, whom Alexander called Epigoni [*i.e.* Successors]. They had been accoutered with the Macedonian arms, and trained in the Macedonian military system. It is said their coming exasperated the Macedonians, who thought that Alexander was contriving by every means in his power to free himself from future need of their services. For the same reason, also, the sight of his Median dress was no small cause of dissatisfaction to them; and the weddings, celebrated in the Persian fashion, were displeasing to most of them, even some of those who were married, although they had been greatly honored by being put on a level with the king, in the marriage ceremony. They were disgusted that [many Asiatic] horsemen had been distributed among the squadrons of the 'Companion' cavalry; as many of them at least as seemed to excel in reputation, stature, or any other good quality, and that a fifth cavalry division was added to these troops, not composed wholly of Barbarians; but the whole body of cavalry was increased in number, and men were picked from the Barbarians and put into it. . . . [Barbarian footmen were also enrolled] and Macedonian spears were given them in place of their native javelins with thongs attached. All this offended the Macedonians, who thought that Alexander was becoming Asiatic in his ideas, and holding the Macedonians as well as their customs in contempt.

[As a result of this discontent there was presently a formidable mutiny among the Macedonians which Alexander suppressed with some difficulty.]

118. Arrian's Sketch of the Character of Alexander

Arrian, "Alexander," book VII, chap. 28. Bohn Translation

Arrian wrote at about 140 A.D. He drew his account of Alexander from reliable sources, and in this opinion of the great Macedonian's character we may fairly believe we have the estimate which men of antiquity passed upon him, — both the view of his contemporaries and of the centuries following.

Alexander lived 32 years and 8 months. He had reigned [when he died] 12 years and 8 months. He was very handsome in person, and much devoted to exertion, very active in mind, heroic in courage, exceeding fond of incurring danger,[1] and strictly observant of his duty to the gods. In regard to the pleasures of his body, he had perfect self-control; and of those of the mind, *praise* was the only one of which he was insatiate. He was notably clever in realizing the thing to be done, while others were still groping after it; and very successful in conjecturing from observed facts what was likely to happen. In marshaling, arming, and ruling an army he was exceeding skillful, and noteworthy for rousing the courage of his soldiers, filling them with hopes of success, and dispelling their fear in the midst of danger by his own freedom from fear. Therefore even what he had to do in uncertainty of the result, he did with the uttermost boldness.

Again he was extremely clever in getting the start of his enemies, and snatching from them their advantages by secretly forestalling them, before any one even *feared* what was going to happen. He likewise was most steadfast in holding to his agreements and settlements, as well as

[1] He exposed himself recklessly in battle.

prudent against being entrapped by deceivers. Finally, he was very sparing in the expenditure of money, for the gratification of his own pleasures; but he was exceeding bountiful in spending it for the weal of his comrades.

That Alexander should have committed errors in conduct from impetuosity or wrath, and that he should have been induced to behave like the [despotic] Persian monarchs to an improper degree, I do not think remarkable — considering his youth and his unbroken career of good fortune; but I am certain that Alexander was the only one of the ancient kings, who from nobility of character repented of his errors. I do not think that even his tracing his origin to a god [Zeus Ammon] was a great error on Alexander's part, if it was not perhaps merely a device to induce his subjects to show him reverence. His adoption of the Persian mode of dress also seems to me to have been a political device as regards the Barbarians, that the king need not appear utterly alien to them; and touching the Macedonians show that he had a refuge from their rashness and temper.

[It is said that Alexander] used to have long drinking parties; but this was not to enjoy the wine, as he was not a mighty drinker, but to show his sociability and friendly feeling to his "Companions."

[And after a warm eulogy of Alexander, notwithstanding a recognition of his shortcomings, Arrian asserts]: for my own part, I think there was at that time no race of men, no city, not one individual even, to whom his name and fame had not penetrated. *Therefore it seems to me that a hero so totally unlike any other human being could not have been born save by the agency of the God.* This is attested by the honor paid him by men up to the present time [about 140 A.D.], and by the remembrance which is still held of him as more than human.[1]

[1] Alexander was adored as a god (*Theos*) almost from the moment of his death.

CHAPTER X

THE HELLENISTIC AGE

The period following the death of Alexander and extending down to the period of the Roman Conquest is of great importance in the history of the world. The work of the Ptolemies in Hellenizing Egypt, and of the Seleucidæ in making Syria almost into a Grecian land has a noteworthy and permanent significance. Unfortunately, however, our literary sources are of a kind that do not adapt themselves readily to brief quotation. In this Hellenistic era, it should be remembered, we are in an age when the city-states of old Hellas (although by no means extinct or utterly enslaved) are completely overshadowed by the "Kings" of the various Macedonian dynasties, which had established themselves in the nearer Orient. About all that can be done in this chapter is to give some impression of the magnificent capitals of these monarchs, the splendor of their courts, and their modes of warfare. Many important topics, such as *e.g.* the Achæan League, the development of learning at Alexandria, and the diffusion of the Greek language and modes of thought through Asia, are perforce omitted.

119. How Elephants fought in Hellenistic Armies

Polybius, "History," book V, chaps. 84-86. Shuckburgh's Translation

During the age of "Hellendom" the main reliance in battle was on the phalanx, trained in the Macedonian fashion, but often less skillfully handled than Alexander had handled his infantry. A new and very picturesque military factor was the elephants, — the use whereof had been learned from the Hindoos. When properly under control, a war elephant was almost irresistible, — the trouble came, of course, when he grew unmanageable in the roar of battle and charged recklessly back into his own lines.

[In a battle fought at Raphia in Palestine in 217 B.C. between

Ptolemy IV of Egypt, and Antiochus the Great of Syria, the elephants played an important part.]

Ptolemy opened the battle with a charge of elephants. Only some few of them, however, came to close quarters with the foe; seated on these the soldiers in the howdahs maintained a brilliant fight, lunging at and striking each other with crossed pikes. But the elephants fought still more brilliantly, using all their strength in the encounter, and pushing against each other forehead to forehead.

The way elephants fight is this: they get their tusks entangled and jammed, and then push against one another with all their might, trying to make each other yield ground, until one of them, proving superior in strength, has pushed aside the other's trunk; and when he can once get a side blow at his enemy, he pierces him with his tusks, as a bull would with his horns.

Now most of Ptolemy's animals, as is the way with African elephants, were afraid to face the fight; for they cannot stand the smell and trumpeting of the Indian elephants [such as Antiochus had], but were frightened at their size and strength, I suppose, and ran away from them at once, without waiting to come near them. This is exactly what happened on this occasion; and upon their being thrown into confusion and being driven back upon their own lines, Ptolemy's guard gave way before the rush of the animals; while Antiochus, wheeling his men to avoid the elephants [charged Ptolemy from another quarter].

[On the other side of the battle, however, the Egyptian phalanx defeated the Syrians, and Antiochus was forced to retire.]

Three of his elephants were killed on the field; and two died afterward of their wounds. On Ptolemy's side sixteen of his elephants were killed, and most of the others captured.[1]

[1] Antiochus had gone into the battle with 102 elephants, and Ptolemy with 73.

120. The City of Antioch

Strabo, "Geography," book XVI, chap. 11, § 5 ff. Bohn Translation

Next to Alexandria, Antioch was undoubtedly the leading city of Hellendom. Besides being the capital of the great Seleucid monarchy, it was the head of a very important caravan route from the East, and the seat of extensive manufactures and commerce. It was an elegantly built city of about 500,000 inhabitants. We do not possess any such careful descriptions of it as we have of Alexandria; yet one can form a good idea of its great size and magnificence.

Antioch is the metropolis of Syria. A palace was built there for the princes of the country. It is not much inferior in riches and magnitude to Alexandria in Egypt.

Seleuces Nicator [king of Syria, 312–280 B.C.] settled here the descendants of Triptolemus.[1] On this account the people of Antioch regard [this legendary personage] as a hero, and celebrate a festival in his honor on Mount Cassius [near the city]. They say that when he was sent by the Argives in search of Io, he wandered through Cilicia, and settled with them on the banks of the Orontes [on the site of Antioch].

Daphne, a town of moderate size, is distant from Antioch about 40 stadia [four and a half miles]. Here is a large forest, with a thick covert of shade and springs of water flowing through it. In the midst of the forest is a sacred grove, which is a sanctuary, and a temple of Apollo and Artemis. It is the custom of the inhabitants of Antioch and the region to assemble here for public festivals. The forest is 80 stadia [nearly nine miles] in circuit.

The river Orontes flows near the city. Its source is in Cœle-Syria. Having taken its course underground, it reap-

[1] This is one of many attempts to connect the Grecian cities of the Orient with Old Greece, by a carefully fostered myth.

pears, traverses the land of Apameia to Antioch, approaches the latter city, and then descends to the sea at Seleucia. The name of the river was formerly the "Typhon," but was changed to the Orontes from the name of the man who built a bridge over it.

On the west [of Antioch] the sea, into which the Orontes empties, lies below Antioch. Seleucia [the port of Antioch] is distant from the sea 40 stadia and Antioch is 120 stadia [about thirteen miles]. The ascent by the river to Antioch is performed in one day.

121. A Description of Alexandria

Strabo, "Geography," book XVII, chap. 1, § 6 ff. Bohn Translation

If Athens was the leading city of Greece in the classical period, Alexandria had surely the same honor during the age of "Hellendom." In it East and West, North and South, came together as nowhere else in the Oriental world. No other city did so much to give the general stamp of Greek civilization to the nearer East. The description by Strabo conveys a tolerably complete idea of the elegance, wealth, and magnitude of this city of some 600,000 odd inhabitants.

When Alexander [the Great] arrived in Egypt, and perceived the location [of Alexandria] and its advantages, he resolved to build the city on the natural harbor. The prosperity of the place which ensued, it is said was presaged by something that occurred while the plan of the city was being traced. The architects were busy marking out the line of the walls with chalk, and had consumed it all, when the king arrived; upon which the dispensers of flour supplied the workmen with a part of the flour which was provided for their own use; and this substance was used in tracing the greater part of the divisions of the streets. This — they said — was a good omen for the city.

The advantages of the city are of various kinds. The

site is washed by two seas, on the north by what is called the Egyptian Sea, and on the south, by the sea of the lake Mareia, which is also called Mareotis. This lake is filled by many canals from the Nile, both by those above and those at the sides, through which a greater quantity of merchandise is imported than by those communicating with the sea. Hence the harbor on the lake is richer than the sea-side harbor. The exports of Alexandria exceed the imports. This any person can ascertain by watching the arrival and departure of the merchant ships, and observing how much heavier or lighter their cargoes are than when they depart or return.

The Healthfulness of Alexandria

But besides the wealth won from the merchandise landed at the two harbors, the fine air of the city is worthy of note. This results from the city being on two sides surrounded by water, and from the favorable effects of the rise of the Nile. Other cities, indeed, situated near the lakes, have a heavy, suffocating atmosphere during the summer heats, and the lakes at their margins become swampy by the evaporation occasioned by the sun's heat. When a large quantity of moisture is exhaled from the swamps, a noxious vapor arises, and is the cause of malignant disorders. But at Alexandria, at the beginning of summer, the Nile, being full, fills the lake also, and thus leaves no marshy matter which is likely to cause noxious exhalations. At the same time, too, the Etesian winds blow from the north, across a broad reach of the sea, and the Alexandrians as a result pass the summer right pleasantly.

Form and Aspect of Alexandria

The shape of the city is that of a chlamys or military cloak. The sides, which give the length, are surrounded by

water and are about 30 stadia in extent; but the isthmuses, which determine the breadth of the sides, are each of seven or eight stadia, bounded on one side by the sea, — on the other by the lake.[1] The whole city is intersected with streets for the passage of horsemen and chariots. Two of these are exceeding broad, over a plethrum in breadth,[2] and cut one another at right angles. The city contains also very beautiful public parks and royal palaces, which occupy a fourth or even a third of its whole extent. For as each of the kings was desirous of adding some embellishment to the places dedicated to the public use, so — besides the buildings already existing — each of them erected a building at his own expense. Hence the expression of the poet [Homer] may be applied.

"One after another springs." ["Odyssey," XVII, 266.]

All the buildings are connected one with another, and these also with what are beyond it.

The Royal Palaces

The Museum is a part of the palaces. It has a public walk, and a place furnished with seats, and a large hall, in which men of learning, who belong to the Museum, take their common meal. This community possesses also property in common; and a priest, formerly appointed by the kings, but at present [Augustus's day] by Cæsar, presides over the Museum.

A part of the palace compound is called the Sema, an inclosure containing the tombs of the kings and also of Alexander the Great. Ptolemy [the First] took the body of Alexander and deposited it in Alexandria in the place where it now lies; though not indeed in the same coffin, for the

[1] Alexandria thus measured a little over three miles long by a little under one mile in width.

[2] A little over 100 feet. The streets of most ancient cities were excessively narrow.

present one is of hyalus (alabaster?), while Ptolemy placed it in one of gold; [but subsequently it was plundered].

The Harbors

In the great harbor at the entrance, on the right hand, are the island and the Pharos [lighthouse] tower, on the left are the reef of rocks and the promontory Lochias, with a palace upon it; at the entrance on the other hand are the inner palaces which are continuous with those on the Lochias, and contain many painted apartments and groves. [Near by] is the theater, then the Poseidonium, a kind of elbow projecting out from the merchant harbor [Emporium] with a temple of Poseidon upon it. [There follow along the water front a vast succession of docks, military and mercantile harbors, magazines, also canals reaching the lake Mareôtis, and many magnificent temples, an amphitheater, stadium, etc.]

Some Notable Buildings and Streets

In short, the city of Alexandria abounds with public and sacred buildings. The most beautiful of the former is the Gymnasium, with porticoes exceeding a stadium in extent. In the middle of it are the court of justice and groves. Here, too, is a "Paneium," an artificial mound of the shape of a fir cone, resembling a pile of rock, to the top of which there is an ascent by a spiral path. From the summit may be seen the wide city lying all around and beneath it. The "Wide Street" extends in length along the Gymnasium to the Canopic gate. Next is the "Hippodrome" (race course), as it is called, and other buildings. After passing through the Hippodrome is the Nicopolis [a suburb] which contains buildings fronting on the sea, not less numerous than a regular city.

The greatest advantage which the city [of Alexandria]

possesses arises from its being the only place in all Egypt well situated by nature for communication with the sea — by its fine harbor, and with the land, by the river by means of which everything is easily transported . . . to the city, which is the greatest mart in the habitable world.

122. The Great Spectacle and Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus

Athenæus (quoting Callixenus the Rhodian), book V, chap. 25. Bohn Translation

When Ptolemy (II) Philadelphus became king of Egypt (285 B.C.), he celebrated his accession by a magnificent procession and festival at Alexandria. The following is only a part of the description of the very elaborate spectacle. The mere enumeration of all this pomp, power, and treasure conveys a striking idea of the riches of the Ptolemaic kings, the splendor of their court, and the resources of their kingdom.

First I will describe the tent prepared inside the citadel, apart from the place provided to receive the soldiers, artisans, and foreigners. For it was wonderfully beautiful, and worth talking of. Its size was such that it could accommodate one hundred and thirty couches [for banqueters] arranged in a circle. [The roof was upborne on wooden pillars fifty cubits high of which four were arranged to look like palm trees.] On the outside of the pillars ran a portico, adorned with a peristyle on three sides with a vaulted roof. Here it was the feasters could sit down. The interior of this was surrounded with scarlet curtains; in the middle of the space, however, were suspended strange hides of beasts, strange both for their variegated color, and their [remarkable] size. The part which surrounded this portico in the open air was shaded by myrtle trees and laurels, and other suitable shrubs.

As for the whole floor, it was strewed with every kind of

flower; for Egypt, thanks to its mild climate, and the fondness of its people for gardening, produces abundantly, and all the year round, those flowers which are scarce in other lands, and then come only at special seasons. Roses, white lilies, and many another flowers never lack in that country. Wherefore, although this entertainment took place in midwinter, there was a show of flowers that was quite incredible to the foreigners. For flowers of which one could not easily have found enough to make one chaplet in any other city, were here in vast abundance, to make chaplets for the guests, . . . and were thickly strewn over the whole floor of the tent; so as really to give the appearance of a most divine meadow.

By the posts around the tent were placed animals carved in marble by the first artists, a full hundred in number; while in the spaces between the posts were hung pictures by the Sicyonian painters. And alternately with these were carefully selected images of every kind, and garments embroidered with gold and splendid cloaks, some having portraits of the kings of Egypt wrought upon them, and some stories from mythology. Above these were placed gold and silver shields alternately.

[A long account follows of the golden couches, golden tripods, silver dishes, and lavers, jewel-set cups, etc., provided for the guests.]

And now to go on to the shows and processions exhibited; for they passed through the Stadium of the city. First of all there went the procession of Lucifer,[1] for [the fête] began at the time when that star first appears. [Then came processions in honor of the several gods.] In the Dionysus procession, first of all went the Sileni to keep off the multitude, some clad in purple cloaks, and some in scarlet ones.

[1] Not to be confused with the character of the same name in mediæval theology. This name was given to the planet Venus.

These were followed by Satyrs, bearing gilded lamps made of ivy wood. After them came images of Victory, having golden wings, and they bore in their hands incense burners, six cubits in height, adorned with branches made of ivy wood and gold, and clad in tunics embroidered with figures of animals, and they themselves also had a deal of gold ornament about them. After them followed an altar six cubits high, a double altar, all covered with gilded ivy leaves, having a crown of vine leaves upon it all gold. Next came boys in purple tunics, bearing frankincense and myrrh, and saffron on golden dishes. And then advanced forty Satyrs, crowned with golden ivy garlands; their bodies were painted some with purple, some with vermilion, and some with other colors. They wore each a golden crown, made to imitate vine leaves and ivy leaves. [Presently also came] Philiscus the Poet, who was a priest of Dionysus, and with him all the artisans employed in the service of that god; and following were the Delphian tripods as prizes to the trainers of the athletes,[1] one for the trainer of the youths, nine cubits high, the other for the trainer of the men, twelve cubits.

The next was a four-wheeled wagon fourteen cubits high and eight cubits wide; it was drawn by one hundred and eighty men. On it was an image of Dionysus — ten cubits high. He was pouring libations from a golden goblet, and had a purple tunic reaching to his feet. . . . In front of him lay a Lacedæmonian goblet of gold, holding fifteen measures of wine, and a golden tripod, in which was a golden incense burner, and two golden bowls full of cassia and saffron; and a shade covered it round adorned with ivy and vine leaves, and all other kinds of greenery. To it were fastened chaplets and fillets, and ivy wands, drums, turbans, and [actors'] masks.

[1] The trainers of successful athletes naturally shared in some of the rewards of victory.

[After many other wagons came one] twenty-five cubits long and fifteen broad; and this was drawn by six hundred men. On this wagon was a sack, holding three thousand measures of wine, and consisting of leopards' skins sewn together. This [sack] allowed its liquor to escape, and it gradually flowed over the whole road.[1]

[An endless array of similar wonders followed; also a vast number of palace servants displaying the golden vessels of the king; twenty-four chariots drawn by four elephants each, the royal menagerie, — twelve chariots drawn by antelopes, fifteen by buffaloes, eight by pairs of ostriches, eight by zebras; also many mules, camels, etc., and twenty-four lions.]

After these came a procession of troops, — both horsemen and footmen, all superbly armed and appointed. There were 57,600 infantry, and 23,200 cavalry. All these marched in the procession . . . all in their appropriate armor. . . .

The cost of this great occasion was 2239 talents and 50 minæ.[2]

123. The Great Ship of Hieron, King of Syracuse

Athenæus (quoting Moschion), book V, chap. 40 ff. Bohn Translation

In the Hellenistic age the art of shipbuilding was carried to high perfection. Instead of the trireme as the standard battleship came the "quinquereme" (five-banked); and vessels far larger were constructed for warlike or peaceful purposes. The ship here described was the wonder of its age. As will be observed, she seems to have had all the luxuries of a modern liner; but she was too large and expensive for any regular commercial use, and not fitted to be a warship. Consequently she had no successor. Hieron, her builder, reigned at Syracuse from about 270 to 216 B.C.

Hieron, king of the Syracusans, was very active in shipbuilding, and built a great number of vessels to carry corn,

[1] An excited, scrambling Greco-Oriental crowd doubtless followed after this "float."

[2] Roughly speaking, about $2,500,000, — a prodigious sum in ancient days.

the construction of one of which I will describe. For the wood he caused such trees to be cut down on Mount Ætna as would suffice for sixty triremes, and then he prepared nails and planks for the side and inside, some from Italy and some from Sicily. The cordage for the ropes he secured from Spain, hemp and pitch from the river Rhone, and many other useful things from all quarters. Shipwrights and carpenters, too, he collected. He made Archias, the Corinthian, superintendent of them all, and bade them labor with zeal and earnestness, he himself devoting his days to watching their progress.

Thus he finished half the ship in six months, and every part of the vessel, as soon as it was finished, was at once covered over with plates of lead. There were three hundred workmen busy getting ready the timber, besides mere journeymen as helpers. As soon as this first portion [*i.e.* probably the bare hull] was in shape, it was arranged to draw it down to the sea, there to be completed. After much inquiry as to the best way of launching, Archimedes, the great mechanician, launched it by himself with only a few people to aid. He had prepared a helix,[1] and with this drew the huge ship down to the sea. [It took six months more to complete the ship itself, after which Hieron labored on the interior fittings.]

The ship was built with twenty banks of oars, and three entrances, the lowest to the hold which was reached by two long ladders, the next for persons who wished to reach the dining rooms, the third for the men-at-arms. On either side of the middle entrance were apartments for the men — each with four couches, — thirty in number. The supper room for the sailors could hold fifteen couches, and within it were three special chambers each with three couches. The kitchen was towards the vessel's stern. All these rooms

[1] Literally a screw. No doubt some clever mechanical engine, perhaps with pulleys.

had floors of mosaic work, of all kinds of tesselated stone. In this mosaic the whole story of the "Iliad" was depicted right marvelously. All the furniture, ceilings, and doors were executed and finished most admirably.

Along the uppermost passage was a gymnasium[1] and walks, their appointments entirely corresponding to the great size of the vessel. In them were beautiful gardens enriched with all manner of plants, and shaded by roofs of lead or tiles. There were also tents covered with boughs of white ivory and the vine, the roots drawing moisture from casks of earth, and watered just as were the gardens. . . . Next there was a temple sacred to Aphrodite, containing three couches, with a floor of agate and other most beautiful stones, . . . its wall and roof were made of cypress wood, its doors of ivory and citrus wood. It was exquisitely furnished with pictures and statues, and goblets and vases of every possible shape.

Also there was a drawing-room, with space for five couches; in it was a bookcase and along the roof a [sun] clock. There was, too, a bathroom having three brazen vessels for holding hot water, and a bath, beautifully variegated with marble. In the ship likewise were ten stalls for horses on each side of the walls, and by them fodder for the horses was kept, and the arms and outfit of the horsemen and the boys. [There was a great cistern for fresh water near the bow and next to it] a large water-tight well for fish made of beams of wood and lead. It was kept full of sea water, and great numbers of fish were kept in it.

In the vessel were eight towers . . . two in the stern, two at the head, the rest in the middle. [They were equipped with weapons for beating off an enemy.] A wall having buttresses and decks ran all through the ship, supported on trestles. On these decks was set a catapult, which flung a

[1] Counted one of the especially desirable features of the latest transatlantic liners.

stone weighing three talents [about 173 pounds] and an arrow twelve cubits long. This engine was devised by Archimedes, and it could throw an arrow a stadium (*circa* 600 feet). [There were three masts outfitted with yards for fending off an enemy.] There were four wooden anchors and eight iron ones on the ship. The hold, though of prodigious depth, was pumped out by one man by means of a pulley, thanks to an engine invented by Archimedes. The name of the ship was the *Syracusan*, but when Hieron sent her to sea, he changed her name to the *Alexandrian*.

As for crew [besides certain others] there were six hundred men. Their post was always at the bow of the ship watching for the orders of the captain. . . .

They put on board the ship 60,000 measures (medimni) of corn; 10,000 jars of Sicilian salt fish, 20,000 talents' weight of wool, and of other cargo 20,000 talents' weight also. Besides all this there were the provisions necessary for the crew.[1] Hieron, when he understood that there was no harbor in Sicily large enough [conveniently] to admit this ship, . . . made a present of it to Ptolemy, king of Egypt.[2]

124. The Hymn of Cleanthes

Translated by Professor H. S. Palmer

Cleanthes, the philosopher, lived from about 300 to 220 B.C. He was the pupil of Zeno, the founder of the famous Stoic school of thinkers. In this hymn addressed to the supreme God, we see how far the advanced Greek philosophers had proceeded from credulous belief in the old mythology. The hymn is purely monotheistic; the conception of the Deity here expressed is extremely noble (despite obvious pantheistic leanings); while if reduced to

[1] It has has been conjectured that the ship was of about 4000 modern gross tons; a sizable vessel to-day, and probably with her elaborate upper works more imposing than many far larger steamers.

[2] Probably she had been built for trading with Greece and Egypt and proved too large and expensive to be profitable.

stanzas and with a few slight changes the words might be used in the worship of various modern religious bodies.

Most glorious of immortals, O thou of many names, all powerful ever, hail! On thee it is fit all men should call. For we come forth from thee, and have received the gift of imitative speech alone of all that live and move on earth. So will I make my song of thee, and chant thy power forever. Thee all this ordered universe, circling around the earth, follows as thou dost guide, and evermore is ruled by thee. For such an engine hast thou in thine unswerving hand — the two-edged, blazing, ever living bolt — that at its blow all nature trembles. Herewith thou guidest universal Reason — the moving principle of all the world, joined with the great and lesser lights — which being born so great, is highest lord of all.

Nothing occurs on earth, apart from thee, O Lord, nor at the airy sacred pole, nor on the sea, save what the wicked work through lack of wisdom. But thou canst make the crooked straight, bring order out of disorder, and what is worthless is in thy sight worthy. For thou hast so conjoined to one all good and ill that out of all goes forth a single everlasting Reason. This all the wicked seek to shun, unhappy men, who, ever longing to obtain a good, see not nor hear God's universal law, which, wisely heeded, would assure them noble life. They haste away, however, heedless of good, one here, one there; some showing zeal in strife for honor, some turning recklessly towards gain, others to looseness and the body's pleasures.

But thou, O Zeus, giver of all, thou of the cloud, guide of the thunder, deliver men from baleful ignorance! Scatter it, fathers, from our souls; grant us to win that wisdom on which thou thyself relying suitably guidest all; that thus being honored, we may return to thee our honor, singing thy works unceasingly; because there is no higher office for a

man, nor for a god — than ever rightly singing of universal law.

125. How Aratus took Sicyon from the Tyrant Nicocles

Plutarch, "Life of Aratus," chaps. IV–IX

Aratus (271 to 213 B.C.) was the virtual founder of the greatness of the Achæan league. The adventures here recounted, of how he delivered his native Sicyon from a local tyrant, took place about 251 B.C, and form one of the most stirring and vivid passages in Plutarch. Sicyon was only one of many old Greek towns, which in the third century B.C. suffered under petty despots. Sparta a little later was terribly afflicted in this way; and they formed more or less of a scourge to the Greeks until the Roman conquest brought genuine relief.

By this time Aratus, being grown a youth, was in much esteem, both for his noble birth and his spirit and disposition, which, while neither insignificant nor wanting in energy, were solid, and tempered with a steadiness of judgment beyond his years. For which reason the exiles had their eyes most upon him, nor did Nicocles less observe his motions, but secretly spied and watched him, not out of apprehension of any such considerable or utterly audacious attempt, but suspecting he held correspondence with the kings, who were his father's friends and acquaintance. And indeed, Aratus first attempted this way; but finding that Antigonus, who had promised fair, neglected him and delayed the time, and that his hopes from Egypt and Ptolemy [II] were long to wait for, he determined to cut off the tyrant by himself.

And first he broke his mind to Aristomachus and Ecdelus, the one an exile of Sicyon, the other, Ecdelus, an Arcadian of Megalopolis, a philosopher, and a man of action, having been the familiar friend of Arcesilaus the Academic at

Athens. These readily consenting he communicated with the other exiles, whereof some few, being ashamed to seem to despair of success, engaged in the design; but most of them endeavored to divert him from his purpose, as one that for want of experience was too rash and daring.

Whilst he was consulting to seize upon some post in Sicyonia, from whence he might make war upon the tyrant, there came to Argos a certain Sicyonian, newly escaped out of prison, brother to Xenocles, one of the exiles, who being by him presented to Aratus informed him, that that part of the wall over which he escaped, was, inside, almost level with the ground, adjoining a rocky and elevated place, and that from the outside it might be scaled with ladders. Aratus, hearing this, dispatches away Xenocles with two of his own servants, Seuthas and Technon, to view the wall, resolving, if possible, secretly and with one risk to hazard all on a single trial, rather than carry on a contest as a private man against a tyrant by long war and open force. Xenocles, therefore, with his companions, returning, having taken the height of the wall, and declaring the place not to be impossible or indeed difficult to get over, but that it was not easy to approach it undiscovered, by reason of some small but uncommonly savage and noisy dogs belonging to a gardener hard by, he immediately undertook the business.

Now the preparation of arms gave no jealousy, because robberies and petty forays were at that time common everywhere between one set of people and another; and for the ladders, Euphranor, the machine maker, made them openly, his trade rendering him unsuspected, though one of the exiles. As for men, each of his friends in Argos furnished him with ten apiece out of those few they had, and he armed thirty of his own servants, and hired some few soldiers of Xenophilus, the chief of the robber captains, to whom it was given out that they were to march into the territory of Sicyon to seize the king's stud; most of them

were sent before, in small parties, to the tower of Polygnotus, with orders to wait there; Caphisias also was dispatched beforehand lightly armed, with four others, who were, as soon as it was dark, to come to the gardener's house, pretending to be travelers, and, procuring their lodging there, to shut up him and his dogs; for there was no other way of getting past. And for the ladders, they had been made to take in pieces, and were put into chests, and sent before hidden upon wagons. In the meantime, some of the spies of Nicocles appearing in Argos, and being said to go privately about watching Aratus, he came early in the morning into the market place, showing himself openly and conversing with his friends; then he anointed himself in the exercise ground, and, taking with him thence some of the young men that used to drink and spend their time with him, he went home; and presently after several of his servants were seen about the market place, one carrying garlands, another buying flambeaus, and a third speaking to the women that used to sing and play at banquets, all which things the spies observing were deceived, and said laughing to one another, "Certainly nothing can be more timorous than a tyrant, if Nicocles, being master of so great a city and so numerous a force, stands in fear of a youth that spends what he has to subsist upon in his banishment in pleasure and day debauches"; and, being thus imposed upon, they returned home.

But Aratus, departing immediately after his morning meal, and coming to his soldiers at Polygnotus's tower, led them to Nemea; where he disclosed, to most of them for the first time, his true design, making them large promises and fair speeches, and marched towards the city, giving for the word "Apollo Victorious," proportioning his march to the motion of the moon, so as to have the benefit of her light upon the way, and to be in the garden, which was close to the wall, just as she was setting. Here Caphisias came to

him, who had not secured the dogs, which had run away before he could catch them, but had only made sure of the gardener. Upon which most of the company being out of heart and desiring to retreat, Aratus encouraged them to go on, promising to retire in case the dogs were too troublesome; and at the same time sending forward those that carried the ladders, conducted by Ecdelus and Mnasitheus, he followed them himself leisurely, the dogs already barking very loud and following the steps of Ecdelus and his companions. However, they got to the wall, and reared the ladders with safety. But as the foremost men were mounting them, the captain of the watch that was to be relieved by the morning guard passed on his way with the bell, and there were many lights, and a noise of people coming up. Hearing which, they clapt themselves close to the ladders, and so were unobserved; but as the other watch also was coming up to meet this, they were in extreme danger of being discovered. But when this also went by without observing them, immediately Mnasitheus and Ecdelus got upon the wall, and, possessing themselves of the approaches inside and out, sent away Technon to Aratus, desiring him to make all the haste he could.

Now there was no great distance from the garden to the wall and to the tower, in which latter a large hound was kept. The hound did not hear their steps of himself, whether that he were naturally drowsy, or overwearied the day before, but, the gardener's curs awaking him, he first began to growl and grumble in response, and then as they passed by to bark out aloud. And the barking was now so great that the sentinel opposite shouted out to the dog's keeper to know why the dog kept such a barking, and whether anything was the matter; who answered that it was nothing, but only that his dog had been set barking by the lights of the watch and the noise of the bell. This reply much encouraged Aratus's soldiers, who thought the dog's

keeper was privy to their design, and wished to conceal what was passing, and that many others in the city were of the conspiracy. But when they came to scale the wall, the attempt then appeared both to require time and to be full of danger, for the ladders shook and tottered extremely unless they mounted them leisurely and one by one, and time pressed, for the cocks began to crow, and the country people that used to bring things to the market would be coming to the town directly. Therefore Aratus made haste to get up himself, forty only of the company being already upon the wall, and, staying but for a few more of those that were below, he made straight to the tyrant's house and the general's office, where the mercenary soldiers passed the night, and, coming suddenly upon them, and taking them prisoners without killing any one of them, he immediately sent to all his friends in their houses to desire them to come to him, which they did from all quarters. By this time the day began to break, and the theater was filled with a multitude that were held in suspense by uncertain reports and knew nothing distinctly of what had happened, until a public crier came forward and proclaimed that "Aratus, the son of Clinias, invited the citizens to recover their liberty."

Then at last assured that what they so long looked for was come to pass, they passed in throngs to the tyrant's gates to set them on fire. And such a flame was kindled, that it was seen as far as Corinth; so that the Corinthians, wondering what could be the matter, were upon the point of coming to their assistance. Nicocles fled away secretly out of the city by means of underground passages, and the soldiers, helping the Sicyonians to quench the fire, plundered the house. This Aratus hindered not, but divided also the rest of the riches of the tyrants amongst the citizens. In this exploit, not one of those engaged in it was slain, nor any of the contrary party, fortune so ordering the action as to make it clear and free from civil bloodshed.

APPENDIX

GREEK MONEY AND MEASURES

Attic Money

All values are highly approximate.

Obol [silver; after about 400 B.C., copper also], 3 cents.

Drachma [= 6 obols, silver], 18 cents.

Mina [= 100 drachmæ, money of account only], $18.

Talent [= 60 minæ, silver], $1080.

Roughly speaking, a talent equals $1000. Money in the Ægenetan standard about 37 % heavier than Attic.

Daric [Persian gold coin, common in Greece], $5.40.

Measures of Capacity

Chœnix = 1 quart (nearly).

Medimnos = 11½ gallons.

Measures of Length

Greek foot (*Pous*) = .97 English feet.

Plethrum = 97 feet.

Stadium = 582½ feet.

[Stadium was 600 Greek feet; roughly ⅛ mile.]

Cubit [Oriental measure, distance from elbow to end of middle finger] = about 18 inches.

MODERN TRANSLATIONS AND OTHER WORKS DRAWN UPON FOR EXTRACTS

Where no translator is named the author of this book is responsible for the translation given; and in many other cases the original translation has been substantially recast.

Aristophanes: *Comedies.* 2 vols. Bohn's Library. London.

Aristotle: *Constitution of Athens.* F. J. Kenyon's translation. London, 1895.

Arrian: *Anabasis of Alexander.* Bohn's Library. London.[1]

Athenæus: *Deipnosophists.* 3 vols. Bohn's Library. London.

Breasted (J. H.): *History of Egypt.* New York, 1905.

Cleanthes: *Hymn.* Translated by Professor G. H. Palmer. Reprinted here by special permission.

Demosthenes: *Orations.* 4 vols. Bohn's Library. London.

Diogenes Laërtius: *Lives of the Philosophers.* Bohn's Library. London.

Ebers (George): *Uarda* (a novel), translated from the German. New York, 1908 (and other editions).

Euripides: *Tragedies.* A. S. Way's translation. 3 vols. London, 1894.

Felton (C. C.): *Ancient and Modern Greece.* 2 vols. Boston, 1866.

Freeman (K. J.): *Schools of Hellas.* London, 1908.

Grote: *History of Greece.* (See "Critical Bibliography.")

Hastings (J.): *Dictionary of the Bible.* 5 vols. London and New York, 1898.

Hawes (C. H. and C. B.): *Crete, the Forerunner of Greece.* London, 1909.

Herodotus: *History.* George Rawlinson, translator. 4 vols. London, 1862. (Many later editions.)[2]

[1] Many of these Bohn translations are not recent (dating from before 1850) and need replacing with others more correct and elegant. These have never been used in this work without revision and recasting of the language. The translation of Arrian (by E. J. Chinnock, 1893) is one of the latest, and is among the very best of the collection.

[2] The original edition of Rawlinson's Herodotus is expensive, and has many lengthy notes and excursuses. For school purposes a sufficient sub-

Hesiod: *Poems.* Bohn's Library. London.

Homeric Poets. Buckley's translation. (Included in the Bohn Library edition of the *Odyssey.*) London.

Iliad. Lang, Leaf, and Myers' translation. London, 1882. (The best prose translation.)

Justin: *History.* Bohn's Library. London.

Maspero: *Ancient Egypt and Assyria.* London, 1892.

Nepos: *Lives.* Bohn's Library. London.

Odyssey: Butcher and Lang's translation. London, 1882.

Pausanias: *Description of Greece.* J. C. Frazier's translation. 6 vols. London, 1898.

Plato: *Dialogues.* B. Jowett's translation. 5 vols.; also in 4 vols. London and New York. (A classic translation.)

Plutarch: *Lives of Illustrious Men.* The "Dryden" translation revised by Clough. 4 vols. London and New York. (Many editions. On the whole the best of several very fair translations.)

Polybius: *History.* E. S. Shuckburgh's translation. 2 vols. London, 1889.

Records of the Past. 1st Series, 6 vols. London, 1880. 2d Series, 6 vols. London, 1890.

Sacred Books of the East. Vol. III. James Darmesteter's translation. Oxford, 1883.

Strabo: *Geography.* Bohn's Library. 3 vols. London.

Theognis: *Poems.* Bohn's Library. London.

Thucydides: *History.* B. Jowett's translation. 2 vols. New York. (An admirable version.)

Xenophon: *Works.* H. G. Dakyn's translation. 5 vols. London, 1897. (Far superior to the old Bohn version.)

Zend Avesta. Chr. Bartholomæ's German translations in his Arische Forschungen. 3 vols. Halle, 1886–1887.

stitute can be found in the cheap reprint in the admirable "Everyman's Library" (Dutton & Co., N.Y.). This gives the complete text with only the most necessary notes.

A SELECT LIST OF BOOKS ON ORIENTAL AND GREEK HISTORY

No attempt is here made to prepare a complete list of all worthy books on Greek history. The works named are merely those most likely to appeal to the inexperienced student, and no book is mentioned which has not been examined in its entirety with this end in view. A great many important essays, the appreciation whereof would call for considerable previous knowledge, have been omitted. On numerous topics the best treatises in English are inferior to those in French and in German.

THE OLD ORIENT

This whole subject involves the critical study of Oriental languages, and has peculiar problems contained in a vast technical literature. Owing to constant archæological discoveries, books on the Old Orient become out of date very rapidly. Only a few books, likely to be useful to the general student, are here mentioned.

The Old Orient as a Whole.

Maspero, G.: *The Dawn of Civilization* (to 1600 B.C.). Appleton, 1896. *The Struggle of the Nations* (to 850 B.C.). Appleton, 1897. *The Passing of the Empires* (to the Conquest of the Orient by the Greeks). Appleton, 1900.

These works translated from the French are, on the whole, the best things we possess on the ancient Oriental monarchies. They supersede such an older writer as Rawlinson. They are elegantly illustrated and quite readable. The author had a more comprehensive knowledge of Egypt than of Babylonia and Assyria, but in everything save a few points, where very recent discoveries have been made, he may be trusted.

Maspero, G.: *Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria.* Appleton, 1892.

Cleverly drawn pictures of life in Egypt in the days of Rameses II, and in Assyria in the days of Assurbanipal. This gives a better idea of how the people lived, the kings, their court, warfare, etc., than any other short treatise.

Ancient Egypt.

Baikie, James: *The Story of the Pharaohs.* Macmillan, 1908.

An interesting and up-to-date narrative, in moderate compass.

Breasted, J. H.: *History of Egypt.* Scribner's, 1909.

The best and most recent work on the subject. Scholarly, well written, and well illustrated. There is a smaller history of Egypt by the same author that will suffice for most general readers.

Erman, A.: *Life in Ancient Egypt.* Macmillan, 1894. Out of print.

An elaborate work translated from the German. Almost every possible topic relating to ancient Egypt is well handled. The volume is a perfect mine of valuable information.

Ancient Babylonia, Assyria, Media, and Persia.

Goodspeed, G. S.: *History of the Babylonians and Assyrians.* Scribner's, 1902.

A good short history.

Ragozin, Z. A.: *The Story of Chaldea.* Putnam's, 1886. — *The Story of Assyria.* Putnam's, 1887. — *The Story of Media, Babylon, and Persia.* Putnam's, 1888.

The authoress of these books is not a learned Orientalist, but she has made excellent use of the technical writings of the experts, and she has written three books that, taken together, make a thoroughly understandable and usable history of the great nations of the Tigro-Euphrates region, from the beginning of Chaldean history down to the battle of Marathon. For the uninitiated reader perhaps more will be gained from these books than from any others on the subject.

Rogers, R. W.: *History of Babylonia and Assyria.* Eaton and Mains, 1900. 2 vols.

A scholarly and useful work.

Sayce, A. H.: *Babylonians and Assyrians; Life and Customs.* Scribner's, 1899.

A good assembling of our information on a rather obscure subject.

GREECE

Standard Histories.

Bury, J. B.: *History of Greece.* Macmillan, 1900.

This is by far the best single-volume history of Greece we possess. The book is the result of the ripe learning of a great English scholar. Thanks to skillful condensation, a great body of fact has been packed into a single volume, and the story has been skillfully told. All the results of modern scholarship, up to the time of publication, are summarized. No historical library should lack this book.

Curtius, Ernest: *History of Greece.* 5 vols. Scribner's, 1870–1874.

The author was a learned German archæologist and art critic. Unlike many of his countrymen, he wrote with imagination and enthusiasm, as well as erudition. The opening chapters of his work rest on theories which have proven untenable; but the remainder of the history is still sound. This is the most interesting of all the larger histories of Greece. No other author has so clear a conception of what the land, atmosphere, and general physical environment of the Greek peninsula did for its inhabitants. The work stops with 338 B.C.

Grote, George: *History of Greece.* 12 vols. Several editions, an excellent and cheap one being in "Everyman's Library," Dutton & Co.

This is the greatest history of Greece ever written. Despite the fact that it was first published over half a century ago, the greater part remains of very high value. The author was an English scholar and statesman of no mean ability. He wrote with a feeling of intense admiration for Athens and the Athenian democracy; and with considerable spirit and literary charm. The earlier volumes having to do with the dawn of Greek history have been corrected by later discoveries, and the treatment awarded Philip and Alexander of Macedon is hardly just; but with these deductions the whole work can be read with great profit. It closes with the death of Alexander.

Holm, Adolph: *History of Greece.* 4 vols. Macmillan.

A recent German work, on the whole embodying most of the conclusions of modern scholars. The judgments are

sound, and the statements of fact usually clear, but the work resembles many other recent products of German scholarship in an utter absence of any skill in expression or narration It is, therefore, very unsatisfactory to young students, though mature ones can use it with great profit. The fourth volume gives the best account we have of the history of Greece from the death of Alexander to the Roman conquest.

Topics connected with Greek History.

Hawes, C. H. and H. B.: *Crete, the Forerunner of Greece.* Harper's, 1909.

A clear and informing summary of the recent discoveries in Crete, which have forced us to reconstruct our concept of the earliest Ægean civilization.

Baikie, James: *The Sea Kings of Crete.* Macmillan, 1910.

A larger work than that by Hawes, covering about the same ground, but in ampler detail and with good illustrations. Scholarly, but not too learned to be interesting.

Fowler, H. N., and Wheeler, J. R.: *Greek Archæology.* American Book Company, 1909.

A highly useful compendium of our knowledge of Greek architecture, sculpture, terra cottas, coinage, vases, etc., matters which, while not strictly history, no historical student can afford to ignore.

Gardner, P., and Jevons, F. B.: *Manual of Greek Antiquities.* Scribner's, 1898.

Practically every phase of Greek life — public and private, secular and religious — is considered in this book. The scholarship is excellent, though the literary treatment is decidedly uneven.

Whibley, L.: *Companion to Greek Studies.* Cambridge Press, 1905.

A composite work, edited by an able English scholar. A vast deal of information on every possible subject connected with Greece and its people is conveyed in a very compressed, yet lucid form. On the whole a better book for the average scholar than the preceding. It should be in every good classical library.

Harrison, Jane E.: *The Religion of Ancient Greece.* Open Court Publishing Company, 1905.

An extremely brief, but almost equally enlightening, essay by a well-known authority on the Greek *Religion*, which she ably points out was by no means identical with the Greek *Mythology*.

Fairbanks, Arthur: *A Handbook of Greek Religion.* American Book Company, 1910.

This is undoubtedly the standard book upon the subject in the English language.

Richardson, R. B.: *A History of Greek Sculpture.* American Book Company, 1911.

Of all the numerous works on Greek sculpture, this is the latest, and probably for the average student the most useful. Good illustrations.

Mahaffy, J. P.: *Social Life in Greece* (to the age of Alexander). Macmillan, 1874. *Greek Life and Thought* (from Alexander to the Roman Conquest). Macmillan, 1887.

These are the books of a learned, clever, and withal highly pugnacious Irish scholar. As a result they are very interesting reading. Even when Professor Mahaffy is uttering opinions from which the critics dissent, his views are worth considering. The books treat more of the social and literary life of the times than the political, but no student can afford to ignore them.

Mahaffy, J. P.: *Story of Alexander's Empire.* Putnam's, 1887.

Tells the story of later Greece from the coming of Philip of Macedon down to the Roman Conquest. The "cultural" side of the picture is better done than the political side. On the whole this is the only account of the later Hellenes in the English language which is worth considering, saving always the fourth volume of Holm's history.

Gulick, Charles B.: *The Life of the Ancient Greeks.* Appleton, 1902.

This is probably the best of several very good discussions of Greek private life. Similar works by Tucker and Blumner are commendable.

Zimmern, Alfred E.: *The Greek Commonwealth.* Oxford Press, 1911.

A stimulating, interesting, and decidedly original essay upon "Politics and Economics in Fifth-Century Athens."

Felton, C. C.: *Lectures on Ancient and Modern Greece.* Houghton, Mifflin, 1866.

The author was a president of Harvard College. Although many years now have elapsed since these lectures were given in Boston, they remain among the most informing and enlightening essays we have for the "general reader" as to things Greek. Recent research makes corrections desirable on a few rather minor points, but in the main the lectures may be read through with great interest and profit. The parts dealing with the literature and the private life are especially good; and the lectures on the modern Greek War of Independence are also interesting. The work stands as a notable refutation of the prevailing idea that a new historical book *must* be better than an old one.

Murray, G.: *The Rise of the Greek Epic.* Oxford Press, 1907.

Of all the numerous books, radical and conservative, that deal with the mooted question of the authorship of the Homeric poems, this is probably the one from which the nontechnical reader will gain the most. Some of the sections on the Homeric life and on the evolution of the Greece of history from out the chaos of races around the Ægean are extremely valuable.

Allinson, F. G. and A. C. E.: *Greek Lands and Letters.* Houghton, Mifflin, 1909.

Descriptions of modern Greek countries and of archæological finds, blended with apt literary characterizations. The authors show clearly how much local environment helped the Greeks to develop their civilization, and the book aids the reader to catch something of the Hellenic "atmosphere" and color which makes the Ægean region notable among all lands.

Gilbert, G.: *Greek Constitutional Antiquities.* Macmillan, 1895.

Translated from the German. A standard and exhaustive treatise on the governments of Athens and Sparta.

Lloyd, W. W.: *The Age of Pericles.* 2 vols. Macmillan, 1875.

A careful, thorough discussion of almost all phases of the "great" Athenian age, although literary skill is lacking.

Ridgeway, Wm.: *The Early Age of Greece.* Cambridge Press, 1901. 2 vols.

A very careful and learned study of a difficult subject. Unfortunately the recent discoveries in Crete make many of the conclusions somewhat debatable.

Schuchhardt, C.: *Schliemann's Excavations.* Macmillan, 1891.

A good summary of the story of the excavation of Troy, Mycene, etc., and of the beginning of the great archæological campaign, which has added so vastly to our knowledge of early Greece.

Biographies of Greeks.

Abbott, E.: *Pericles.*
Putnam's, 1897.

Wheeler, B. I.: *Alexander the Great.* Putnam's, 1900.

This and the preceding volume are two good standard biographies in the well-known "Heroes of the Nation" Series.

Dodge, T. A.: *Alexander the Great.* Houghton, Mifflin, 1890.

An excellent biography from the military point of view: rather wanting in appreciation of Alexander as a constructive force in history.

Hogarth, D. G.: *Philip and Alexander of Macedon.* Scribner's, 1897.

An interestingly written sketch of the two great Macedonians. The author has a due appreciation of their work, and especially is careful to see that the genius of Philip is not overshadowed by his more brilliant son.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES OF ANCIENT AUTHORS CITED

In this list are included brief notices of most of the regular Greek and Latin authors from whose works excerpts have been taken, but no attempt has been made to include various obscure Christian chroniclers, or to trace the authorship of Oriental inscriptions, etc. Many famous poets of antiquity, *e.g.* Æschylus and Sophocles, are not mentioned because no quotations are made from their writings.

Æschines (389 to 314 B.C.). The leading orator of Athens in the fourth century B.C., saving only Demosthenes, and the latter's chief opponent. A man of remarkable eloquence; but his character as a patriot is open to criticism for his continual advocacy of the cause of Macedon.

Aristophanes (444 to about 380 B.C.). The prince of the Athenian poets of the "Old Comedy," *i.e.* comedy which was mainly concerned with comment and caricature touching the events of the day. Some of Aristophanes's plays were political, *e.g.* the *Knights* was especially directed against the demagogue Cleon; others were devoted to social questions, *e.g.* the *Clouds* took up new educational theories and made a vicious attack upon the alleged evil doctrines of Socrates. The literary skill is of the very highest order, and the eleven comedies of Aristophanes which are preserved to us throw invaluable light upon almost all the problems and events of his day.

Aristotle (384 to 322 B.C.). A native of Stagira in the Chalcidice, who spent much of his life at Athens, where he was the favorite pupil of Plato. Philip employed him as preceptor to his son Alexander. Aristotle was the most learned man and perhaps the greatest intellect produced by all antiquity, and no notice can be taken here of his multifarious activities. One of the great treasures which he bequeathed to posterity was his treatise on *The Constitution of Athens* — a work only recently rediscovered. Although this small book is not an infallible authority as against, *e.g.* the statements of Thucydides, it is always to be treated with the greatest respect.

Arrian (about 90 A.D. to about 170 A.D.). A Greek historian and philosopher of considerable ability. He was born in Bithynia, entered the Roman civil service, held important governorships, and in 146 A.D. was consul. His *Life of Alexander* is compiled from good contemporary sources, and is on the whole decidedly well written. It is the best biography we have of the great Macedonian.

Athenæus (wrote about 230 A.D.). A learned Græco-Egyptian grammarian. In his "Banquet of the Learned" (*Deipnosophists*) he has strung together a vast quantity of fact and anecdote on a great many subjects, especially gastronomy. It is a frigid, fearfully erudite work, yet conveying considerable information.

Cleanthes (about 300 to about 220 B.C.). A distinguished Stoic philosopher; although a native of the Troad, he spent much of his life at Athens.

Demosthenes (385 to 322 B.C.). The story of his career is necessarily the whole story of the downfall of the freedom of the Greek city-states. In judging him as an orator, it is to be remembered we can only *read* his orations. Much of their effectiveness undoubtedly came from his marvelous delivery. Considered as mere literary productions, they are models of well-displayed patriotism, clear thinking, clever turns of argument, clothed with a remarkable majesty of language which never falls into bombast.

Diodorus Siculus (lived in the age of Julius Cæsar and Augustus). He was a Sicilian Greek, who compiled a large universal history, covering almost everything from the period of myth down to his own. Only fifteen of his forty books are preserved. He was a frigid writer, who borrowed from earlier historians with little discrimination and less literary skill; nevertheless, he has saved for us many facts not contained in any other surviving author.

Diogenes Laërtius (probably lived in second century A.D.). A Cilician Greek whose *Lives of Philosophers* gives a vast deal as to the personal careers of most of the famous thinkers of Hellas. In view of the loss of older and more complete works,

his treatise is invaluable, although he was not a writer of any deep insight or marked originality.

Euripides (480 to 406 B.C.). The third in order of age of the great Attic tragedians. The others are, of course, Æschylus and Sophocles. He departed from the types of his predecessors by representing men, as Aristotle suggests, "not as they ought to be, but as they are." He was the first prominent realist, and was bitterly assailed, both in his own age and of recent years, as too much given to a skeptical philosophy. Whatever be the facts, he remains one of the most brilliant luminaries of the "Age of Pericles."

Herodotus (484 to about 430 B.C.). "The Father of History" was a native of Halicarnassus, on the coast of Caria. He spent much of his earlier life in travel, visiting Egypt, Babylon, etc., and later seems to have stayed long in Athens, where he was intimate with the great spirits — poets, artists, philosophers — who adorned the Age of Pericles. His history of the great conflict betwixt Persia and Hellas is really the first surviving piece of Greek prose. He is not critical in his use of data; often he displays a distinctly naïve credulity, yet he aims throughout to be truthful, and in the main his history has run the gauntlet of modern criticism exceedingly well. To him the contest with the Persian deserved an epic, and his narrative is in some sense an epic poem, with charming digressions, dramatic climaxes, divine interventions and forewarnings, and the like. All things considered, Herodotus's story is the most *readable* history ever written, and possibly the most valuable in its subject matter.

Hesiod (lived about 700 B.C.). Hesiod was claimed by the Greeks as the leading successor of Homer, and they named Ascra in Bœotia as his birthplace. He was probably an historical personage, although little seems certain about him. His leading poems were the *Works and Days*, containing precepts on all kinds of subjects, and much discussion of the political and economic problems of the eighth century B.C., and the *Theogony*, a more genuinely poetical account of the origin of the world and the birth of the gods.

Homer. The questions relating to the authorship of the *Iliad* and

of the *Odyssey* are so complex that only a few prime points can be stated here:—

I. Present-day scholars are agreed that these poems are *not* the original products of a blind bard of Chios, whom the Greeks imagined lived about 1000 B.C.

II. Most modern scholars believe that the poems, as we have them, are the product of a succession of minstrels; and that they are the gradual outgrowth from various extremely old legends. First, a few single incidents about a war with Troy, and the return from Troy of Odysseus, were recited by the bards, then gradually — perhaps by a process lasting several centuries — they became elaborated and compacted into two long and fairly unified epics.

III. It is probable that the *Iliad* — as we have it — is a considerably older poem than the *Odyssey*.

IV. There is a fair degree of certainty that, back of the *legend* of the expedition of the Greeks to Troy, there lies a kernel of fact — the destruction by attackers from across the Ægean of a great and ancient city by the Hellespont.

V. Somewhat less certainly it may be imagined that *a single great personality*, possessed of a true poetic genius, put the various "sagas" together into the *Iliad* as we now have it; this person would be the so-called "Homer." There is difficulty in conceiving that in *any* case the same person could have shaped both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

Taking these epics as they stand, they are the first fruits of the developing genius of the Hellene. If the civilization producing them had been immediately afterward blotted out, it would nevertheless be rightly described as "great."

Inscriptions. A vast amount of our evidence for antiquity is "graven on the rock." Lacking our cheap paper, and with only an inferior substitute in papyrus or, later, in parchment (in Babylonia clay tablets were used), during the whole of antiquity men sought to perpetuate their documents and their own memory by elaborate inscriptions — on the walls of Egyptian tombs, on the walls of Assyrian palaces, and on countless monuments and buildings in the Græco-Roman age. Funeral inscriptions — often exceedingly elaborate and recounting all the career and fortune of the deceased — enable us to recon-

struct much of the private life, especially of Egypt and of the Roman empire. Cities caused laws, treaties, etc., to be engraved and set up in their temples, as did kings and emperors their edicts and rescripts. All in all, this inscriptional evidence constitutes a large fraction of our whole knowledge of ancient history, though its interpretation is often a matter of extreme difficulty.

Lysias (458 to 378 B.C.). He was born at Athens, but his father was a Syracusan, and he was not, therefore, an Athenian citizen. He wrote a great number of orations — usually for others to learn and deliver in their own behalf before the courts, although a few he seems to have spoken himself. His orations sometimes lack force, but are distinguished by a remarkable clearness, grace, and elegance.

Nepos (reign of Augustus). Cornelius Nepos was a friend of Cicero and of Cicero's famous correspondent, Atticus. He wrote a book of *Lives of Distinguished Men*, which seems of no very high literary excellence, though giving us a considerable body of facts. It is likely, however, that we have only an abridgment of the original work.

Pausanias (lived under Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius). A traveler and geographer, who put posterity under a heavy debt by his *Itinerary of Greece*. He visited the country about 170 A.D., when the memorials of the great past were still intact, and the local legends were still carefully cherished. These he placed with some faithfulness and minuteness in his book. His work has obscurities and blunders, but is a perfect mine of information to the archæologist.

Pindar (522 to about 442 B.C.). The greatest lyric poet of Greece. He was a native of Thebes. His choral odes in honor of special occasions, *e.g.* victories at Olympia and the other Pan-Hellenic games, were sought by cities and princes from all over the Greek world. Pindar's language is often extremely forced and archaic, his meters highly involved, but his poetry, both in loftiness of thought and elegance of expression, probably represents the highest point reached by the Greek mind before the development of the great intellectual luminaries of Athens in "the Age of Pericles."

Plato (429 to 347 B.C.). An Athenian and the favorite among the pupils of Socrates. He possessed wealth and a noble lineage, and probably had he lived half a century earlier, he would have developed into a distinguished poet. As it was, his poetic instinct clothes his philosophic *Dialogues* with a literary charm which — combined with the actual ideas expressed — makes them among the chief treasures transmitted to us by the Greeks. In his shorter and earlier dialogues, it is fair to assume he is faithfully reporting Socrates, — whenever that master is represented as speaking. In the later ones, Plato is making Socrates merely the mouthpiece for his own ideas. Plato spent most of his life teaching in the famous gymnasium of the Academy, consequently his school was called the "Academic."

Plutarch (about 50 A.D. to about 120 A.D.). A Greek of Chæroneia in Bœotia, and perhaps the most widely known writer of the whole Imperial period. He made visits to Rome, but spent most of his time in the little town in Bœotia, where he held various local offices. He was not an original thinker, but he seems to have represented the old pagan ideals and morality at their best, and he was wonderfully successful in casting the opinions and writings of others into lucid and highly interesting prose. His *Parallel Lives* (a Greek and a Roman) are the ablest set of biographies ever composed, despite the fact that they were written rather to edify by noble examples than to pass as critical history. His extensive ethical writings, the *Morals*, although less popular, are distinguished by a sane and practical view of life which makes them admirable reading even after nineteen centuries.

Polybius. See Biographical Note in Vol. II.

Strabo (about 54 B.C. to about 24 A.D.). A Greek of Pontus who wrote a *Geography* that is a real gazetteer of the world in the days of Augustus. It is written with considerable literary grace and critical insight and is the source of much incidental historical and archæological information. He lived some years in Rome, and seems to have traveled through many of the countries which he describes. His work is of very high value.

Theognis (active about 580 B.C. or somewhat later (?); dates uncertain). A famous poet of Megara, who was driven into exile by the democratic upheavals in his native city. His elegiac poems are infused with a keen worldly wisdom and appreciation of the evils of his times, and their pithy didactic quality made them favorites with Greek schoolmasters for memorizing by their pupils.

Thucydides (471 to about 401 B.C.). An Athenian, who grew up amid the choice intellectual circle surrounding Pericles, whom he vastly admired. When the Peloponnesian war began, he conceived the idea of writing a "Modern History," to set forth impartially and accurately all that came to pass. Later as an exile at Sparta, he was able to secure the Lacedæmonian side of the great story. He executed his purpose with remarkable fidelity and precision. His history, telling the story of the war and its preliminaries down to 411 B.C., is one of the most satisfying ever written. Even where he can be suspected of error or bias, the proof thereof is seldom satisfactory; and at times he rises to a remarkable height of lofty and truly stirring narration. Thucydides is a model for every modern historian.

Xenophon (about 444 to about 355 B.C.). An Athenian who was among the intimate friends of Socrates. He went on the famous "March of the Ten Thousand Greeks" under Cyrus the Younger, and became the leader upon the retreat. Being banished from Athens, he spent much of his life at Sparta, where he contracted close friendship with King Agesilaus and others, and he continued a "Laconophile" all his life. He was an extremely versatile writer. His *Memorabilia* (anecdotes and conversations of Socrates), his *Anabasis* (story of the Great March), and his *Hellenica* (continuation of Thucydides down to 362 B.C.) are only part of his productions. As a historian he has considerable merit, though incomparably inferior to Thucydides. His *Œconomicus* is one of his semi-philosophical writings, setting forth that there is a true and separate art relating to the management of homes and private property.

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